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ABSTRACT

Testimony on federal aid to higher education in Africa is recorded in this report of a congressional hearing. Subcommittee chairman Senator Paul Simon opened by describing his hope that more U.S. aid be directed to the relatively new but now deteriorating African institutions of higher education. John Hicks, from the Bureau for Africa at the Agency for International Development, testified on early efforts to assist Kenya and Uganda, past assistance in agricultural higher education, and current activities. Fred Hayward, of the American Council on Education, testified by comparing U.S. and African higher education. Frank Morris, Dean of Graduate Study and Research at Morgan State University (Maryland), testified about using indigenous experts, policies that encourage short-term solutions, and the untapped resources of the historically black colleges and universities in the U.S. Carl Schieren of the African American Institute testified on the role of African higher education in national development and the extreme challenges that hinder their efforts. Pearl Robinson of Tufts University (Massachusetts) testified on three programs of the African Academy of Sciences. Also included are prepared statements of all the witnesses and a record of the verbal testimony and questions that followed. (JB)

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HIGHER EDUCATION IN AFRICA

ED 367 203

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON
AFRICAN AFFAIRS

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
UNITED STATES SENATE

ONE HUNDRED THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

MAY 17, 1993

Printed for the use of the Committee on Foreign Relations

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CONTENTS

	Page
Hayward, Dr. Fred, senior associate, American Council on Education	16
Prepared statement	21
Hicks, John, Acting Assistant Administrator, Bureau for Africa, AGENCY for International Development	2
Prepared statement	6
Morris, Dr. Frank, dean of graduate studies and research at Morgan State University, Baltimore, MD	31
Prepared statement	34
Robinson, Dr. Pearl, Department of Political Science, Tufts University, Boston, MA	45
Prepared statement	48
Schieren, Carl, vice president, the African American Institute	36
Prepared statement	39

HIGHER EDUCATION IN AFRICA

MONDAY, MAY 17, 1993

U.S. SENATE,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICAN AFFAIRS
OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 3:32 p.m., in room SD–419, Dirksen Senate Office Building, Hon. Paul Simon (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Senator Simon.

Senator SIMON. The subcommittee hearing will come to order.

We are holding a hearing on the question of higher education in Africa. Back in the early 1960's, there were fewer than six established higher educational institutions in Africa. That number has gone up thanks to the help of the United States and some of the colleges and universities here and people in other countries.

But after that improvement in the situation, there has been a rapid deterioration in the higher education community as the economies in Africa decline.

Of the 30 African countries with higher education institutions, there are few institutions that really thrive today. Many of them are in very bad shape. And even among those that exist, opportunities, for example, for women and the number of women faculty members is not at a healthy level.

Furthermore, U.S. institutions and programs working in Africa have too often relied on their own experts rather than developing African personnel capacity.

But my feeling is as we approach aid to Africa, we are looking at the short-term problems. And I see a friend of mine, Buz Palmer, in the audience. We discussed these short-term problems. But we also ought to be looking at how can we help Africa long-term.

And as you look at helping Africa long-term, we have to be looking at higher education more than we have. Higher education gets about 1.5 percent of the aid that we now provide for Africa. My hope is that that can increase that amount and that we can find ways beyond limiting ourselves to AID assistance in Africa.

We have a number of excellent witnesses today. And let me just add that one of the witnesses, Vivian Lowery-Derryck, who is the president of the African-American Institute was going to be one of our witnesses, but went through an emergency appendectomy on Friday. She has sent Mr. Carl Schieren to act in her place.

Our first witness is the Acting Assistant Administrator of the Bureau for Africa, Mr. John Hicks with AID and we are very happy to have you here, Mr. Hicks, and look forward to your testimony.

STATEMENT OF JOHN HICKS, ACTING ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, BUREAU FOR AFRICA, AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Mr. HICKS. Thank you very much, Senator Simon. I am pleased to be here. We have submitted a fairly detailed written statement.

Senator SIMON. Yes. And let me just add we will enter all the written statements in the record. We will ask our witnesses to try to confine their oral remarks to 5 minutes and so we can get into the question period and devote more time to that.

Mr. HICKS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to testify before your subcommittee today on higher education in sub-Sahara Africa.

In response to your request, we have provided materials on Uganda and Kenya—which deal primarily with AID's early efforts to support faculties of agriculture.

But to respond further to your expressed interests, I would like to begin with a discussion of our past involvement in higher education, which was mainly in the agriculture sector and then broaden the discussion to include more current activities.

AID has been involved in a number of institutional development projects globally and has supported in some fashion tertiary education in almost every country in sub-Sahara Africa, from Burundi to Zimbabwe, in fields ranging from anthropology to zoology.

While most of AID's early institution-building efforts focused on faculties of agriculture, other sectors also received AID assistance, such as public administration, the health sciences, and education. Probably one of the most successful institution-building projects was the long-term strengthening of Ahmadu Bello University in Nigeria.

The university became an institution that linked teaching, applied research, and extension to strong community outreach. This enabled it to develop the necessary political and financial support to become one of the best higher education institutions in Nigeria.

Despite the significant investments made over the past 30 years in strengthening African schools of agriculture, per capita food production has declined for much of sub-Sahara Africa during this period. Expectations were unrealistic as to what could be achieved on a 30-year timeframe, particularly given the unstable political and economic climate.

The land grant model so successfully applied in Asia proved less suitable to the African context due to more diverse sets of agroecological zones and attendant research extension and technology transfer issues peculiar to African regions.

Given the African complexities, there is a need to reconsider the current overseas training and long-term expatriate technical assistance approach to institution building. We need approaches that are sustainable over the long term, better attuned to the needs of the African Continent, and driven by African goals and objectives.

Important lessons have been derived from our long-term experience with African institutions and higher education. Projects have supported Bunda College of Agriculture in Malawi, and our association with three universities in Nigeria and one in Ethiopia was particularly instructive.

What we have found is that most of our higher education institution-building efforts were geared toward establishing primarily teaching institutions. Bunda College of Agriculture in Malawi is a very good example. Established as a teaching institution, it is not known for its involvement in either research or extension activities.

University strengthening efforts were successful in exposing Africans to models of American higher education. However, the emphasis on teaching and learning impeded the university's ability to provide effective outreach to local farm research stations and the community.

Weaknesses of the institution-building approaches for faculties of agriculture have been characterized by some of the following shortcomings: narrow and static view of their mission, inappropriate organizational structures and weak management, and outmoded research and educational methodologies, to name a few.

It is difficult to make sweeping generalizations in an area as diverse as higher education in sub-Sahara Africa. A number of studies concluded that fundamental reforms are necessary to improve African institutions of higher education and put them on a more sustainable footing.

I would like to underline that until Africans deal systemically with the current underlying problems concerning the African higher educational system, it is difficult to envision major across-the-board engagement in investments in the higher education sector on the part of the donor community.

These problems include issues of finance, governance and autonomy, quality, equity, and relevance.

While we see indications that many Africans understand the depth of the fundamental issues confronting their universities, it will require tough decisions and commensurate action on their part to improve the state of higher education in Africa.

First, we chose to focus in the area of basic education, because the need was evident and the opportunity to work with African and the donor community was present.

Second, economic studies have shown that the rates of return to basic education are higher relative to other levels of the education sector and at least as favorable relative to investments in physical capital.

Beyond this rationale for AID's focus on basic education, however, is the fact that Congress has earmarked substantially DFA resources for the basic education sector.

Now what is AID doing in higher education? Despite our focus on basic education, AID is still doing a number of innovative things to support higher education in Africa. Our current programming levels for African universities are running at about $12 million per year.

In addition, AID has recently made a financial contribution, a commitment of $5 million to African capacity building initiative which is closely involved with African universities.

This somewhat modest programming level supports a breadth of involvement in countries and disciplines that is quite remarkable. In fiscal 1991–92, we provided support to higher education in approximately 20 African countries. These activities support or complement the bilateral programs in respective mission portfolios and

cover the following areas: economic policy, agribusiness and research, population and health, business, democracy and governance, natural resources and the environment, and science and technology.

At home and abroad, AID is using existing capacity within African higher education systems as an important tool to undertake analyses on a wide range of issues for our programs and projects. At the same time, AID's use of this existing capacity is strengthening institutional capability in African institutions of higher learning.

The Bureau for Africa has recently introduced a policy of promoting the use of African researchers and academics as a part of our ongoing research in analytic activities. We recently authorized regional economics, health and human resources activities, and agricultural and natural resources management projects, prime instruments for implementing this policy.

For example, one project activity involves working with African researchers in Madagascar on a survey of fresh water fish, of rain forests and coastal plain rivers. Other activities in Benin and Nigeria are using African researchers to assess the impact of land tenure on biodiversity.

In our overseas missions, we are also using existing African capacity to build solid foundations for programs, projects, and activities. Ghana is a good example of an AID mission furthering its own specific program objectives by selectively and strategically strengthening the Ghanaian university system in management, training, nontraditional exports, and basic education.

Last year, this type of assistance totaled $780,000. With resources from the AID-funded bean collaborative research support project, USAID Malawi has used Bunda College to support the mission's agricultural sector assistance efforts.

The mission is also using its human resources and institutional development project to support other parts of Malawi's university system at a level of about $3 million per year.

Our mission in Kenya has a variety of activities totalling $5.2 million in fiscal 1991 and $2 million in fiscal 1992 in agricultural training and research with Kenyan higher education institutions in the areas of economics and family planning.

In Madagascar, AID is supporting faculty development at the national university and in Cameroon, the AID mission is providing assistance in agriculture and other disciplines to two universities totalling some $2.5 million.

The Africa Bureau is also working closely with AID's Central Research and Development Bureau's university center. We view the university center as an important vehicle for linking U.S. and African institutions of higher education through their university linkages development project.

The Africa Bureau believes that the linkages established by these projects represent an efficient and effective mechanism for tapping into the reservoir of U.S. university expertise to strengthen African universities. After only 2 years of operation, this linkage project has already established 12 different linkage agreements involving over 16 African universities.

Four of the U.S. universities involved in this linkage program are historically black universities and colleges. In fiscal year 1992 African university linkages represented 50 percent of all the linkage agreements awarded by the university center.

In terms of bilateral support to tertiary education institutional strengthening, the USAID mission in South Africa is currently planning a major new project called the Tertiary Education Linkages Project. This will be a significant undertaking for AID and among other things, will be directed at linking United States historically black colleges and universities with similar institutions in South Africa.

As you can tell, Mr. Chairman, from these activities, AID's approach and support for higher education has changed somewhat from the days of massive institution-building projects of a couple of decades or so ago. And what we are doing is trying to undertake our bilateral activities using, where it is possible, relationships with universities to foster the implementation of these programs.

What are the reasons for this change? First, we think there are limitations on our resources as well as serious financial issues in African universities that preclude significant investments at this point.

There is now an existing human resources and institutional base that can be used in a strategic and selective manner to help accomplish our other development objectives in a country. AID's private sector interests now require that we support different kinds of education skills and institutional development. And there is an immediate need to build analytical capacity to support the policy reform process that we and others have urged Africans to embark upon to improve the management of their economies.

Let me give a brief overview of our past and present regional scholarship and training projects that have assisted in building a human capacity in African institutions. The African training and leadership for advanced skills project, or ATLAS, as we call it, and its predecessor project, the African Graduate Fellowship Program, or AFGRAD, represent a 30-year cooperative effort involving U.S. universities, the African-American Institute, AID, and the participating African universities and governments.

The objective of the program is to provide quality, advanced education in the United States for selected African students in priority fields of study to prepare those individuals to assume high level positions of responsibility in their home countries.

Since its inception in 1963, the AFGRAD Program has provided 2,883 primarily graduate level fellowships. Of the 2,587 alumni included in AFGRAD's 1992 directory of fellows, 637 are presently employed at African universities, including 6 vice chancellors and 33 academic deans.

Mr. Chairman, I have tried to give the subcommittee a brief but broad overview of the challenges facing African education. I have also tried to describe how the Africa Bureau is responding to those challenges by extending assistance to higher education in ways that directly support our bilateral missions as well complement efforts of other donors.

Thank you for your attention, Mr. Chairman, and I would be pleased to answer any questions that you may have.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Hicks follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MR. HICKS

Thank you Mr. Chairman for providing us with the opportunity to testify before your sub-committee today on the issues confronting us concerning higher education in sub-Saharan Africa. In response to your request, we have provided materials for the subcommittee concerning Uganda and Kenya which deal primarily with early efforts to support faculties of agriculture. In order to respond further to your expressed interests, I will begin with a wider discussion of our past involvement in higher education which was mainly in the agriculture sector and then broaden the discussion to include more current activities over a wider set of issues.

INSTITUTION BUILDING IN THE SUB-SAHARAN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT

A.I.D. has been involved over the years in a number of institutional development projects globally, many involving higher education. In Africa, this covered the gamut of countries from Burundi to Zaire and fields of study from anthropology to zoology. As summarized below, A.I.D. has supported in some fashion tertiary education in almost every country in sub-Saharan Africa. Institutional development is an important developmental approach as effective institutions have a synergistic force leveraging A.I.D. investments for enhancing a country's ability to marshal human and financial resources for development that creates jobs and fosters sustainable growth.

While much of A.I.D.'s early institution building efforts focussed on either supporting or developing from the ground up, faculties of agriculture, other sectors also received A.I.D. assistance such as public administration, the health sciences and education. In addition to strengthening faculty development and curriculum, A.I.D. strengthened research and outreach capacities, supplied books and materials, and constructed buildings. As has been documented, some of these past efforts were successful in terms of meeting project objectives and achieving sustainable outcomes, while others were not. Probably one of the most successful institution building efforts supported by A.I.D. was the long-term strengthening of Ahmadu Bello University in Nigeria. The university was able to develop the appropriate institutional structure linking teaching, applied research, and extension to a strong community outreach effort. This enabled Ahmadu Bello, for example, to develop the necessary political and financial support to sustain its mission and development plan over time and become one of the best higher education institutions in Nigeria.

However, despite the significant investments made over the past 30 years in strengthening African schools of agriculture, per capita food production has declined for much of sub-Saharan Africa during this period. By way of comparison, one can point to increases in food production per capita as prima facie evidence of A.I.D.'s successful assistance to higher education in other geographic regions.

The "land grant model" so successfully applied in Asia, proved less suitable to the African context, due to more diverse sets of agroecological zones and attendant research, extension, and technology transfer issues peculiar to African regions. Second, Africa has had much less experience than Asia with the process of institution building. Expectations were unrealistic as to what could be achieved in a 30-year time frame, particularly given the unstable political and economic climate. These and other factors such as the unfavorable macroeconomic framework adversely distorting the incentive structure for agriculture have contributed to the disappointing performance in agricultural production throughout Africa.

The complexities of the African environment demand, therefore, close analyses of such factors as the stages of economic development, institutional capabilities, sociocultural characteristics, micro-climates, and soils, that are found in African countries. Given these complexities, agriculturalists and development planners see the need to replace the current overseas training and long-term expatriate technical assistance approach to institution building with one that is more attuned to the needs of the continent, that is driven by African goals, objectives, and needs, and that is sustainable over the long-term.

CONCLUSIONS AND LESSONS-LEARNED FROM A.I.D. INSTITUTION BUILDING AND SUPPORT FOR FACULTIES OF AGRICULTURE

A.I.D. has invested heavily over the years (and continues to do so on a modest scale) in African institutions of higher learning. The following conclusions have been derived from our long experience and several evaluations in this area, which in particular draw upon lessons-learned from projects that supported the Bunda College of Agriculture in Malawi, three universities in Nigeria and one in Ethiopia.

What we have found is that most faculties of agriculture and other education institution building efforts were geared towards establishing *primarily teaching institutions*. For example, Bunda College of Agriculture in Malawi is a very good example of this finding. While Bunda College continues to be a premier teaching institution, it is not known for its involvement in either research or extension activities.

In general, university strengthening efforts were successful in exposing Africans to models of American higher education; in developing experimental farms for practical instruction; in developing curricula and materials related to African needs; and in constructing or rehabilitating classrooms, laboratories, libraries, and dormitories.

The mission of A.I.D. and the institutions it supported was primarily focussed on establishing an academic teaching capacity. This teaching and training emphasis is still prevalent today among the assisted institutions. While important, this emphasis precluded the university from enhancing its role in society and seriously weakened its ability to establish a strong political base for future financial support. Furthermore, the relative lack of attention to the social sciences and other supporting disciplines in our institution building efforts impeded the university's ability to provide effective outreach to the local farm, research stations and community.

The weaknesses of the institution building for faculties of agriculture approach have been characterized as follows:

- narrow and static view of their mission;
- inappropriate organizational structures and weak management systems;
- outmoded research and educational methodologies;
- lack of strong ties to client groups;
- declining financial and political support;
- isolation from international advances in science and education;
- training for public or quasi-public sector jobs much beyond levels of need and demand.

WHAT IS THE CURRENT STATE OF AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION?

It is difficult to make sweeping generalizations in an area as diverse as higher education in sub-Saharan Africa. Most of the problems plaguing African universities have been raised recently by A World Bank Study entitled "African Universities: A Strategy of Stabilization and Revitalization." The points that have been made above and in the Bank study also mirror a number of studies and findings of other scholars.

They conclude that a fundamental set of reforms are necessary to improve and put on a more sustainable footing African institutions of higher education. Higher education systems need to become more equitable, efficient, and relevant to African development needs within a **financial envelope** that is publicly and privately affordable. Donor support for African universities was waning prior to the fiscal crisis that seized most of Africa in the early 1980s. A number of authorities question whether sustaining existing levels of financing at that time would have been prudent given the severe shortcomings of the university mission and the inefficiency of the system.

Let me underline that until the Africans deal systemically with the current underlying problems concerning the African higher educational system, it is difficult to envision major across-the-board engagement and investments in the higher education sector on the part of the donor community. While we see indications that many Africans understand the depth of the fundamental issues confronting their universities, it will require tough decisions and commensurate action on their part to address the difficult issues of finance, governance and autonomy, quality and equity, before the donor community is likely to engage in any substantive assistance to higher education.

WHY HAS A.I.D. FOCUSSED ON SUPPORTING AFRICAN BASIC EDUCATION?

A.I.D. has chosen to support basic education for a variety of reasons. First, we have chosen to focus in this area because the need was evident and the opportunity to work with the African and donor community was present. Second, the underlying economic rationale was provided several years ago in a number of studies, culminating in the 1988 World Bank study on Basic Education in sub-Saharan Africa. These studies indicated that the rates of return to basic education were higher relative to other segments of the education sector and at least as favorable relative to investments in physical capital.

Beyond this rationale however, Congressional basic education earmarks have also been a factor in our policy and programming decisions.

WHAT IS A.I.D. DOING IN HIGHER EDUCATION?

Despite our focus on basic education, A.I.D. is still doing a number of innovative things to support higher education in Africa. Our current programming levels for African universities are running at about $12 million. In addition, A.I.D. has recently made a financial contribution of $5 million against a $10 million commitment to the African Capacity Building Initiative (ACBI) which is closely involved with African universities.

This somewhat modest programming level supports a breadth of involvement in countries and disciplines that is quite remarkable. Currently in FY 91 and FY 92, we provided support in approximately 20 African countries to higher education. These activities support or complement the bilateral programs in respective Mission portfolios and cover the following areas:

Areas	Number of activities
Economic Policy	(8)
Agribusiness/Research	(11)
Population and Health	(7)
Business	(5)
Democracy and Governance	(4)
Natural Resources and the Environment	(4)
Science & Technology	(3)

USING AFRICAN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION TO SUPPORT A.I.D. DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES AND PRIORITIES

As evidenced above, we in Washington and in our USAIDs overseas are using existing capacity within the African higher education system to provide analyses on a wide-range of issues for our programs and projects at the country and regional level. This selective use of existing African analytic and research capacity is becoming an important tool to support our country-level African development priorities, and is serving to strengthen African institutional capabilities.

AT HOME IN A.I.D./WASHINGTON

Here in A.I.D./W, the Bureau for Africa has recently introduced a policy promoting the use of African researchers and academics as part of our on-going research and analytic activities. Three recently authorized regional economics, human resources and agricultural and natural resource projects are prime instruments for implementing this policy. For example, one project working is with African researchers in Madagascar on a survey of freshwater ichthyofauna of rainforest and coastalplain rivers and in Benin and Nigeria on the impact of land tenure on biodiversity. We are utilizing African researchers in the Universities of Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Tanzania, on regional trade and food security issues and Makerere University for assistance in conducting nutrition surveys. The Africa Bureau is planning a grant from our regional economics research project to fund joint research with Africans as part of their Masters-level training on a variety of African economic development problems.

OVERSEAS IN OUR USAIDS

Our missions are also using existing African capacity to build a solid foundation for programs, projects and activities overseas. Ghana is a good example of an A.I.D. Mission furthering its own specific program objectives by selectively and strategically strengthening several parts of the Ghanaian university system. The areas that USAID/Ghana is involved in higher education are management training, non-traditional exports, and support for our basic education initiative. These activities approached a level of $780,000 last year.

USAID/Malawi has used assistance to Bunda and Burda Colleges with resources from the A.I.D.-funded Bean Collaborative Research Support Project (CRSP) to support the Mission's agricultural sector assistance efforts. USAID/Malawi has also used the Human Resources and Institutional Development (HRID) Project to support other parts of Malawi's University system which last year amounted to $3 million.

Also on a bilateral basis, USAID/Kenya is funding a number of strengthening activities in agriculture training and research with higher education institutions, and in addition supports the University of Nairobi in the areas of economic policy analysis and family planning. These activities totalled $5.2 million in 1991 and over $2.0 million last year.

In Madagascar, A.I.D. is supporting faculty development at the National University and in Cameroon the Mission is providing assistance in agriculture and other disciplines to two universities—at Yaounde and Dschang—, totaling $2.5 million last year.

WORKING WITH A.I.D.'S UNIVERSITY CENTER

The Africa Bureau is also working closely with the R&D Bureau's University Center and have identified collaboratively with the U.S. university community in several modest ways to work more closely together in reviews of our programs, tapping them for technical expertise and organizing technical workshops. We view the University Center as a means for assisting the Africa Bureau in linking U.S. and African institutions of higher education generally and through its existing project portfolio such as the University Linkages Development Project (UDLP) and is considering participation in the proposed Higher Education Assistance for Development Project (HEAD). The record of collaboration with the University is already bearing fruit. Under UDLP, for example, after only 2 years of operation, there are already 12 different linkage agreements, some with several components, involving over 16 African universities. Four of the U.S. universities involved in the UDLP projects are Historically Black Universities and Colleges (HBCUs). The UDLP linkages are in the following areas:

Areas	Number of activities
Health and Nutrition	(10)
Business	(5)
Environment	(3)
WID	(3)

In terms of specific bilateral support to tertiary education institutional strengthening, USAID/South Africa is currently planning a major new project called the Tertiary Education Linkages Project (TELP). It will be a significant undertaking for A.I.D., and among other things will be directed at linking U.S. Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) with similar institutions in South Africa.

As you can tell from these activities, A.I.D.'s approach and support for higher education has changed from the institution building days of two and three decades ago to one which targets elements of Africa's universities that will enhance the accomplishment of our own bilateral program objectives.

A.I.D.'s approach has changed for several reasons. First, we know there are limitations on our resources as well as serious education sector financial issues that preclude significant investments now. Second, there is an existing human resource and institutional base that can be used in a strategic and selective manner to help accomplish our development objectives in a country. Third, A.I.D.'s private sector interest now requires that different kinds of education, skills, and institutional development be supported. Fourth, there is an immediate need to build analytic capacity to support the policy reform process that we and others have urged the Africans to embark upon to improve the management of their economies.

I think in large part we are succeeding in this approach.

A.I.D. AFRICA BUREAU REGIONAL PROJECTS

Let me give you a brief overview of how our regional scholarship and training projects have assisted in building the human capital base and African institutions.

The African Training for Leadership and Advanced Skills (ATLAS) project and its predecessor projects, the African Graduate Fellowship Program (AFGRADs I, II, and III), represent a cooperative effort of the Council of Graduate School Deans (CGSD), the African-American Institute (AAI), A.I.D, and the participating African universities and governments. The objective of the program is to provide quality education for selected African students in priority fields of study to prepare those individuals to assume high-level positions of responsibility in the service of their governments, national universities, and the private sector. Since inception in 1963, the AFGRAD Program has provided 2,883 Fellowships, primarily at the graduate level. As such, it has been a targeted intervention to upgrade the African human resource base using off-shore advanced training to support African higher education institutions and the public sector.

The Study of AFGRAD Alumni: Training High Level Human Resources for African Development, 1963–1980, conducted by AAI with funding from A.I.D., confirmed that about one-half of the AFGRAD alumni were employed by education and research institutions. A second follow-up study is underway to update this information and include those Fellows who have completed their studies since 1980. Of the 2,587 alum-

ni included in the *1992 Director of Fellows*, 637 are presently employed at African universities, including 6 Vice-Chancellors and 33 academic deans.

The ATLAS project also provides a grant to the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences (AAAS) in support of the sub-Saharan African Journal Distribution Program. Now in its fifth year, the program provides subscriptions of more than 150 journals in the sciences and humanities to some 200 university and research libraries in 38 countries. As a result of the AAAS effort, over 3,000 subscriptions reach African education and research institutions that do not have ready access to current scientific literature.

Mr. Chairman, I have tried to give the sub-committee a brief, but broad, overview of the challenges facing African higher education. I have also tried to describe how the Africa Bureau is responding to those challenges by extending assistance to higher education in ways that directly support our bilateral Missions as well as complement efforts of other donors.

I am ready to answer any questions that you may have.

Thank you.

Senator SIMON. I thank you very much.

You mentioned toward the end of your remarks the African graduate fellowship program. And you mentioned that since its inception in 1963, the program has provided 2,883 primarily to graduate level. How many right now are studying?

These are people who are studying in the United States, I assume? Is that correct?

Mr. HICKS. That's correct.

Senator SIMON. And how many are in the United States right now?

Mr. HICKS. AFGRAD fellows?

Senator SIMON. Yes.

Mr. HICKS. Well, we have funded trainees from all AID-financed activities. At any given time, there are some 3,000 African students studying in the United States.

I am afraid I do not have the breakdown in terms of AFGRAD.

Senator SIMON. No, that is not necessary. But——

Mr. HICKS. It would be in the range of 200 or 300.

Senator SIMON. Two or three hundred. And has that been a fairly steady number over the years or is that escalating? Is it declining?

Mr. HICKS. Right. We have seen about 1,500 or 2,000 total as a constant figure and that number has held. And I think the AFGRAD number has been about the same.

Senator SIMON. All right. But because the African population is growing, in fact that means relative to their population, there is a declining number here?

Mr. HICKS. Yes.

Senator SIMON. I mention this just as one aspect, because right now we are talking about significantly increasing or the possibility of significantly increasing fellowships and scholarships and exchange programs with Eastern Europe and Russia. And I am all for that.

But as we look at that, it seems to me we also ought to be looking at the one continent in the world where there is a declining standard of living for the people on that continent. And I would hope we would look at those numbers and see if we can get those numbers up.

Tell me about the university center you describe and how that meshes with the needs in Africa.

Mr. HICKS. Yes, Senator. The university center is a center that is located within the Research and Development Bureau of AID. It

is a central bureau. The university center was basically established to facilitate linkages between American universities and universities in our client posts.

Senator SIMON. If I may interrupt, did that grow out of the amendment—Congressman Paul Findley put an amendment—I forget the title, to our AID program some 10, 15 years ago. Did that emerge from that, the university center? Or has been there for some time?

Mr. HICKS. The university center is relatively recent. Yes, Senator, that is the title XII land grant legislation. I think that established the BIFAD relationship.

The university center is a relatively recent development of the last 2 or 3 years, but it does indeed grow out of that arrangement.

Senator SIMON. And the university center, I assume, is, among other things, a place where people brainstorm and say, how can we do a better job in Latin America, in Asia, in—and I hope they are focusing on Africa to a significant degree.

Mr. HICKS. Yes, that is correct. The university linkages project right now is the flagship activity of the university center.

Senator SIMON. Now, when you talk about linkage agreements, give me an example of a linkage agreement and what it provides. Let us say University of Illinois or any other university.

Mr. HICKS. Right. It would essentially establish a relationship between an American university and an African university and an agreement to cooperate in a given field, say agricultural research or communications or business or economics.

There would be staff exchanges involved, whereby faculty members from the American university would come to Africa and vice versa. There would be opportunity for attending professional meetings and joining professional associations. There would be training opportunities and fellowship and sabbatical opportunities for the African or the receiving institution.

There would perhaps be resources that would be made available through the project to engage the African university in an activity, say in a development sector in the host country.

But the idea would be to create a situation whereby, through the formal arrangement and the formal relationship, the African university could strengthen its capacity but at the same time the American university would broaden its knowledge and its ability to provide support for development issues and development problems.

Senator SIMON. It seems to me where you have these collegial relationships, both sides can benefit. You mentioned—let me read what you have to say here.

> Let me underline that until the Africans deal systematically with the current, underlying problems concerning the African higher educational system, it is difficult envision major across the board engagement and investments in the higher education sector on the part of the donor community.

And then you have, prior to that you list a number of the weaknesses. I guess there are two areas here. One is, in the countries that have the resources to do better, and maybe this is one of the criteria that we ought to be establishing we do not expect every college and university in Africa to suddenly be a Harvard nor to imitate Harvard in every respect.

What we ought to be doing is to encourage local leadership, the development of that local leadership. Maybe this is an unhappy example, because the IMF gets criticized by a lot of people, but consider the IMF. The IMF says to a country, you have to meet these standards. Otherwise, you do not get help.

Now, there is no question that sometimes the IMF makes a mistake, but there is also no question that sometimes the IMF is able to force change when nothing else will. Politics is no different in Africa than it is in the United States. Sometimes we need an excuse for doing the responsible thing because it is politically not an easy thing to do.

Are we making clear that we have some criteria in order to help universities? In other words, are you not just telling this subcommittee but also the institutions in Africa, that in order to get greater assistance, you have to move in this direction?

Mr. HICKS. Yes, absolutely, Senator. There is activity in this regard taking place on two levels. First, bilaterally our missions and particularly those who are engaged in programs that provide assistance or draw on African institutions of higher learning to implement regular development programs engage in this dialog on equity, on governance, and proper administration of natural resources, and management shortcomings. This is included in our dialog with the government and we certainly address these issues. This is taking place in a number of countries.

But also there is a group called Donors in African Education, and this is a multidonor group. It involves the World Bank and a number of principal bilateral donors including ourselves who are established for the purpose of conducting this dialog with African governments on issues surrounding education in Africa. And they are basically pursuing two objectives.

One is to engage Africans and the African institutions in an active dialog on these issues so that essential assistance levels can resume or, perhaps more importantly or better put, so that the policy environment can be created that would be conducive and make donors more receptive.

But the other thing that the Donors in Education in Africa is doing is that the dialog that is taking place between the donors themselves is helping to educate us with respect to how we are approaching these institutions, and how we are conducting this dialog, and helping us to rationalize and coordinate our plans in terms of assistance to higher education. But there is a very active dialog at two levels on this very important issue that you have raised.

Senator SIMON. Now, this may seem to contradict what I said earlier, but there is a second level. And it seems to me there are some countries where higher education is in its infancy, and to expect some standards that we might expect in other countries, South Africa for example, is just unrealistic.

I remember visiting a country, and because I do not want to embarrass anyone I will not name the country, where they have one higher education institution and it is barely able to turn out some teachers, nothing else. I had no ability to judge the quality of that, but their resources are so limited, they really need help.

Those are the kinds of places where I think we also have to help, not just those that meet some high standards that we have. Do you want to comment on that?

Mr. HICKS. Yes. I would agree. I think that certainly the expectation should be relative and should relate to the conditions and circumstances that pertain from one country to the other. And so I agree. I do not think that it is reasonable to set higher expectations or standards too high in certain instances.

I think that certainly our principal concerns would be, are the policies of the government such that they are supportive and promotive of an institution of higher education being properly established and run in an effective and efficient manner?

And then second, are the resources that are made available to that institution of higher learning properly utilized? Is the governance of the institution such that accountability does not represent a major problem, and are the resources directed in the right way and accounted for in a proper manner?

I mean, those would be at least two important aspects.

Senator SIMON. It is also important to note that female student participation in African colleges has gone from about 12 percent to 25 percent. Still not high, but an appreciable improvement. That is from 1970–88. Faculty participation, female faculty has gone from 16 percent down to around 14 percent there.

I think this is also an area where we ought to communicate to our friends there is a sensitivity here in the United States on that issue of making opportunity available to everyone. And that clearly has a great deal to do with economic development in Africa.

Are there any reflections on your part on how we can do more to have—whether you call them linkage agreements or connections between American colleges and universities and colleges and institutions in Africa? It seems to me that we ought to be encouraging the proliferation of that kind of relationship.

Mr. HICKS. Yes, Senator. I have a couple of comments. We discussed the university linkages project. That project has been in existence for 2 years. In the first year, four linkages with African institutions were established. Last year we managed to get eight additional linkages established out of that program.

We do not expect that type of increase to continue, but we certainly do expect that this year even more linkages will be established, broadening the spectrum of participation between African and U.S. institutions. So, we really look to this university linkages project as a mechanism for getting directly at this.

Second, I mentioned in my testimony the very exciting activity that we are getting started in South Africa, which is a major tertiary education project that has establishing linkages with American universities as a principal objective. We are looking forward to this activity and as with other elements of what we are doing in South Africa, it is quite possible that that will suggest or lay out some lessons for operations in other parts of the continent.

Also, we are engaged in a number of activities that involve research and project development and analysis work. And as we implement these major activities, a principal focus of ours is to target African universities and African researchers as the principal intermediaries for delivering this assistance.

So, we honestly do hope to begin to draw more heavily on the capacities of African institutions, and perhaps through some of our bilateral activities to engage in what would be tantamount to linkages programs or, certainly, activities that draw more heavily on African institutions.

As we implement the Development Fund for Africa, we are placing major emphasis on pursuing our development objectives by relying as heavily as we can on African institutions, and meaning by that institutions of higher education, as intermediaries and vehicles to implement these programs.

So, those are the ways we see. Of course, we will continue with the manpower training activity. ATLAS, the follow-on to AFGRAD, is funded at $140 million, and will go on for the next 10 years to train African manpower.

Senator SIMON. Let me request this of you. I would appreciate if within the next 60 days after consulting with your new director, Brian Atwood, who is a long-time friend and for whom I have great respect I could get a 5-year projection of what you hope to do in this area. And I do that because it is easy to kind of drift in this area and do some good but, frankly, not as much good as we ought to do. I would like to see us set some goals. We may not reach all our goals, but we are going to do a better job if we have some goals.

And if either you could get back to me, or Brian Atwood, or someone get back to me in letter form, and I will enter it into the record, and we will see where we go. OK?

Mr. HICKS. I will be pleased to do that.

[The information referred to follows:]

U.S. AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT,
WASHINGTON, DC,
August 10, 1993.

The HON. PAUL SIMON,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Africa, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, Washington, DC

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This letter responds to your request at the May 17 hearing on African higher education for a plan delineating the Agency for International Development's (A.I.D.) involvement in the area of higher education in Africa over the next five years. Over the past several weeks, the Africa Bureau has engaged in discussions on its current and future role in African education. The plan which emerged is outlined below. We believe it represents a sound and realistic approach to assisting African higher education over the next five years.

As I and several other witnesses said in our May 17 testimony, African higher education institutions suffer from enormous problems, principally: (1) declining educational quality; (2) burgeoning enrollment; (3) expenses and finance; and (4) lack of relevance to national needs. We in A.I.D. believe that Africans themselves are best situated to address these underlying problems. Until they are resolved, major investments in the higher education sector on the part of the donor community will be severely constrained. This is a view widely shared among donors and by the African and donor institutions that comprise the Donors to African Education group.

As I stated at the hearing, our principal area of emphasis within the sector is basic education because of the significantly higher socio-economic benefits per dollar. As you know, this priority has been repeatedly endorsed by Congress. Nevertheless, A.I.D. will provide substantial assistance to African higher education over the next half decade.

A significant portion of our resources will be dedicated to human resources development within our overall portfolio of activities. Furthermore, we continue to utilize African higher education institutions to implement programs that address strategic development concerns in such emphasis areas as primary health care, population, natural resources management, democracy and governance, basic education and sustainable agriculture. In this way, African universities build institutional capabilities while increasing their relevance to their respective societies and cultures.

Notwithstanding the Africa Bureau's emphasis on basic education and our belief that A.I.D. should strengthen African universities by helping them apply their expertise to their countries' development concerns, the plan outlined below suggests how A.I.D. proposes to more directly assist African universities in the next five years.

Linkages: There is generally positive support for linking one or more tertiary-level institutions in Africa with U.S. higher education institutions to carry out development work. Benefits are already being realized from the successful performance thus far of A.I.D.'s centrally funded and managed, worldwide University Development Linkages Project (UDLP), which is completing its second operational year. Africa has been awarded more linkages than any other region and, for the most part, the Project has been well-received by our Missions in Africa. Over the next five years, we intend to strengthen our collaboration with UDLP to ensure, continue, and expand our support to linkages between U.S. and African universities; these linkages are expected to total approximately $6 million.

The Africa Bureau is considering the possibility of providing $100,000 to the Donors to African Education Higher Education Working Group for a study that would give us useful information on donor experience with building African tertiary-level analytical and institutional capacity through linkages with non-African universities. The study could include an examination of the various supporting roles which U.S. tertiary level institutions might play.

The Africa Bureau will fund a number of African networking activities involving higher education institutions in the field of economics and policy analysis. Under the Bureau's Equity and Growth Through Economic Research Project (EAGER), the level of our support to these African-based networks will be approximately $5 million over the next 5 years. Under EAGER, A.I.D. will also support the development of a Masters of Economics program for both Francophone and Anglophone African countries using these networks.

Through the Research and Development Bureau's Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) Research Grant Project, U.S. scientists, researchers and technicians from HBCUs are linked with counterparts in an African tertiary-level institution to work on specific development problems, mainly in agriculture and health. Ten projects each have been carried out in Nigeria and Ghana; five in Sierra Leone; four each in Cameroon, Kenya and Rwanda; and three in Zimbabwe. We intend to continue supporting these collaborative research efforts.

Finally, the Africa Bureau is considering initiating linkages among U.S. and African universities on a regional basis. Southern Africa, for example, presents one possible locus for such an initiative.

Training: The Bureau for Africa will continue its assistance to training African leaders and boosting African tertiary-level institutional quality through several large regional training projects. Under an arrangement whereby the involved U.S. universities grant tuition scholarships to African scholars, the African Graduate Fellowship Program (AFGRAD) has provided 2,883 primarily graduate-level fellowships since 1963 to Africans from 45 nations at over 200 U.S. institutions of higher education. This Program is expected to continue through September 1996. It is worth noting that a significant proportion of the Africans so far trained under AFGRAD either came from and/or returned to, African universities.

The African Training for Leadership and Advanced Skills (ATLAS) Project, which began in 1990, provides U.S. degree training at the graduate and undergraduate levels. After training, ATLAS features follow-on activities such as workshops, symposia and conferences in Africa, grants to alumni and professional associations, occasional informational bulletins, an alumni directory, post-graduate training opportunities and distinguished alumni awards. Nearly 30 sub-Saharan countries are participating in ATLAS at present. Over the next five years A.I.D. will invest approximately $55 million in support of ATLAS activities and by the time the Project terminates in the year 2006, A.I.D.'s total investment is expected to be $140 million.

It is envisioned that by the Project's end 1,250 students will have obtained U.S. graduate degrees, 250 students will have obtained undergraduate degrees, and an additional 3,350 Africans will have received short-term training.

The Project also provides subscriptions of more than 150 journals in the sciences and humanities to some 200 university and research libraries in 38 countries. Over 3,000 subscriptions reach Africa educational and research institutions that do not have ready access to current scientific literature.

Country programs: The Bureau for Africa is planning to initiate early in Fiscal Year 1994 a major project in the Republic of South Africa titled Tertiary-Level Linkages Project (TELP). TELP's goal is to improve the quality of tertiary education for South Africa's majority population. The Project's purpose is to strengthen selected historically black tertiary education institutions and to improve the access of black

students to quality tertiary education. The Project is anticipated to last 10 years and have a total A.I.D. investment of $50 million. A key aspect is the linking of South African historically black institutions through consortia arrangements to jointly address problems of strategic planning, academic quality, access and equity, organizational efficiency, and financing. There are plans to involve U.S. higher education institutions, especially U.S. historically black colleges and universities. We feel this project will make significant contributions to strengthen the leadership and institutions needed in a post-apartheid South Africa. We are hopeful that this project will serve as a model which could be adapted for use elsewhere in Africa.

In addition, A.I.D. provided about $25 million in total assistance in Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993 to strengthen African universities through both research and training activities in such areas as agriculture, health, family planning, and democracy and governance. We hope to continue this level of support over the next five years.

Depending on overall budget availabilities and the outcome of the Administration's efforts to reform and streamline foreign aid, we anticipate a continuing commitment to African higher education over the coming years as delineated above. In addition, when feasible in terms of fit and quality, African institutions of higher education will be increasingly sought out to assist in the implementation of A.I.D.-financed development activities. By utilizing higher education to the extent possible to address development problems, we will be helping African tertiary-level institutions meet their respective national needs.

I want to thank you again for the opportunity of testifying before your Africa Subcommittee on the subject of higher education in Africa. I wish to assure you that A.I.D. in addition to emphasizing basic education, fully appreciates the importance of supporting higher education in Africa. Building intellectual capability and the institutions needed to produce trained manpower and intellectual leadership is critical to sustainable development.

I look forward to working with you on these and other issues, and would be pleased to provide any additional information you may require.

Sincerely,

JOHN F. HICKS,
Acting Assistant Administrator.

Senator SIMON. We thank you very, very much Mr. Hicks for your testimony and for your leadership in an area that I think is really important to the future of Africa.

Mr. HICKS. Thanks again to you, and it was a pleasure to be here.

Senator SIMON. Thank you. Our next panel consists of Mr. Carl Schieren who, as I mentioned, is taking Vivian Lowery-Derryck's place because of an emergency appendectomy. We wish her well. Carl Schieren is also with AAI.

Dr. Pearl Robinson, professor of political science at Tufts University, and a long-time friend of Adowa-Dunn of my staff. Dr. Frank Morris, dean of graduate studies and research at Morgan State University, who I first met through my friend Buzz Palmer. Dr. Fred Hayward who is executive director of the American Council on Education. Bob Atwell sent me a note saying they are very eager to do everything they can in this field.

If any one of you has any preference in terms of who wants to testify first, otherwise I am just going start, Dr. Hayward, with you, and we will go right down the line, and we will hear from each of you again. We will enter your full statements in the record, if you can summarize your remarks in 5 minutes, and then we will go to questions.

STATEMENT OF DR. FRED HAYWARD, SENIOR ASSOCIATE, AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

Dr. HAYWARD. Thank you, Senator Simon. I have brought a little additional statistical material here. I apologize for one typographical error which we have corrected by hand, so it is not as

neat as your superb chart there, but it is here if you want to share it just to give you some comparisons between U.S. higher education and African higher education.

I appreciate this opportunity to testify. I think it is very important that you are holding these hearings. African higher education is in crisis today. There is a perception in Africa that we do not have very much interest in the continent's development in this day and age, and I think it is important that you are calling attention to the difficulties.

The situation in African higher education has been growing worse since the early 1980's. The crisis has major consequences for the ability of African states to train the human resources necessary for both economic and political development. In that sense it affects long-term prospects for agricultural and industrial development, economic growth, and political stability. As African states become increasingly unable to provide the quality education they need, they will continue to fall further behind the rest of the world.

This assessment, let me add, is in stark contrast to the excitement and the promise that we saw in the sixties and seventies. During that period, African universities were experiencing phenomenal achievements. There was a lively intellectual life on campuses, exciting research was going on, results were being published, and they were training large numbers of highly qualified individuals. During this period, student enrollments grew from 21,000 to 400,000.

In the 1990's in most of Africa the crisis faced by higher education is if anything growing worse day by day. Although university enrollments grew to approximately 542,000 by 1990, a little more than 800,000 if you add South Africa, universities have not been able to keep up with the population growth.

Per capita expenditures on students are shrinking. The declining quality of primary and secondary education is having its inevitable effect on higher education, and poorly paid faculty are having to look elsewhere, or take two or three additional jobs, in order to survive.

In much of contemporary Africa, people are finding that the very training and talent so badly needed if they are to respond to contemporary economic, social, and political problems is increasingly unavailable at home.

From 1980–83 alone, the World Bank figures show that African expenditures on higher education dropped from $10 billion to $8.9 billion. From 1980–88, per pupil expenditures dropped from about $4,500 to $1,200. And this was not a consequence of efficiency, it was a consequence of a shortage of funding.

At one level, it is fair to say that the problem is partly economic, a reflection of the global recession. On another level, it reflects a decline in international funding for higher education from USAID and many other donors. AID, as we have heard, moved away from higher education support to focus primarily on basic education.

The shift for AID is illustrated by the decrease in higher education projects in Africa dropping, according to one count, from 23 projects in the 1970's to 13 in the 1980's, and 2 in the 1990's, and 1 in 1993–94. The USAID policy remains largely unchanged with the exception, as we have heard, of South Africa where several

higher education projects are currently underway, and that is an effort which we certainly applaud.

With the growth of universities in Africa has also come conflict between governments and universities. Centers of intellectual inquiry often meant questions directed to government, calls for greater participation, for democracy, for freedom of speech and press. Faculty and students frequently became the major critics of repression and corruption, the champions of an open society.

One would have expected nothing less from institutions of higher education, but the cost to the institutions were very great indeed. What had been largely autonomous institutions came under political control.

One could go on with the problems, but I want to suggest these few by way of introduction, mainly to make clear the extent and the magnitude of the crisis.

Yet, in spite of the crisis one is also struck by the ingenuity, the dedication, and the hope which can be found at many institutions in Africa. There is impressive planning underway to try and transform higher education. In South Africa, Mozambique, and Namibia an extraordinary effort is underway to reconceptualize, to question, to plan, and to rebuild a university system that reflects national needs and high standards. National education commissions are at work in several African countries including Nigeria and Kenya.

And perhaps most impressive are the countless faculty members working under adverse conditions in all parts of Africa who are nonetheless providing high quality instruction in spite of the odds.

I am reminded of a recent visit to Sierra Leone where I witnessed two American-trained biological science faculty members at Njala in Sierra Leone teaching labs during the 2 hours of the day that the college had both electricity and water, lecturing and helping students in five labs which they were running simultaneously. Students were 10 deep to a single lab space, hanging out the windows, straining to see what was going on, taking notes on each other's backs and on the floor and on the walls, but nonetheless asking questions and sharing in the excitement of discovery.

This is the dedication and the interest that deserves our help. A little assistance will go a long way to enhance the spirit the United States helped create when we helped establish Njala as an agricultural college in Sierra Leone.

Let me make a few recommendations for U.S. assistance and for rethinking U.S. assistance to Africa. In an era in which there are so many intractable problems, African higher education is one area in which the United States can make important contributions at modest costs. We should make our contributions in our areas of strength, building on the experience and human resources which can be called upon to assist in a wide variety of areas of critical need. This assistance will help maximize the impressive talent and human resources already in place in Africa.

We believe that the most successful efforts involve cooperation between American higher education and our African counterparts. If our recent experience in several pilot projects in Africa is typical, such efforts can provide the impetus for change and transformation.

For example we have seen that happen in South Africa, in the early stages of a strategic planning effort, and a small but successful library cooperation project in the Western Cape. I must say, I have also witnessed it through the American Association of Advancement of Science periodicals program where a very small amount of money has sent journals to 38 sub-Saharan African countries.

Let me make nine quick points by way of suggestion. First, a new program of assistance to African higher education. I think U.S. assistance to Africa is critical. We have the people-power to assist. We have done so in the past. I think it is time for us to do that again.

A robust system of higher education in Africa is in our national interest and will pay major dividends. As a nation with roots in Africa we want to promote success.

Senator SIMON. Go ahead and finish your points.

Dr. HAYWARD. Second, I think we need to build on the strength of U.S. higher education. We have major assets in higher education which can be used with a small additional cost. And here let me add I think the HBCU's have a vital role to play in this effort, and we need to be sure that that is part of the understanding.

Third, I think we need to target quality improvements in faculty development, research, strategic planning, leadership training, and student's academic support.

Fourth, I think we need to provide strategic assistance for libraries and laboratories. Again here, a small amount of assistance can have a remarkable effect throughout a university.

Fifth, we need to focus on educational targets of opportunity. I am delighted that Congress and the executive branch has focused on South Africa. I think we need to continue that focus.

And, by the way, let me say as an aside that I think it is very important that we continue our assistance to higher education in South Africa after the transition. The problems of apartheid will not be ended the day the transition takes place. The transformation of higher education in South Africa is going to take 5 to 10 years additional assistance, but I think the dividends will be very great, not only for South Africa but I think it will be a model to the rest of Africa. And certainly the early responses have been phenomenal.

Sixth, I think we need to provide better mechanisms for Africa-wide initiatives. One of the problems at the moment is there really are no good mechanisms for helping higher education in Africa generally.

If one looks at AID funding, most of the money is allocated to the missions, about 80 percent. And although there are theoretically ways in which one can get funding for Africa-wide initiatives through the office of new initiatives as unsolicited proposals, the reality is that this is almost impossible to do. And yet there are many things like leadership training and faculty development that can be much more efficiently dealt with on a continent or area basis. And I think it is important that mechanisms be found to make that work.

Seventh, we need to provide greater support for the agency center for university cooperation and development. I am delighted to

hear the strong endorsement from the AID representative here. I have heard rumors to the contrary, and I am delighted to hear that they are not true. But I think that the center has made in its brief 2 years a major contribution to bringing U.S. higher education and AID closer together.

It has made a major contribution in starting some very useful programs in Africa. It is a way to build on American higher education's talent for Africa, and I think it is terribly important that its funding be continued and that its mission be expanded. That may be a mechanism for Africa-wide initiative. I think it also can provide assistance for other efforts.

Eighth, we should encourage more research in Africa through cooperative research agreements with U.S. colleges and universities. They pay major benefits not only for the African institutions but for American institutions as well, providing greater access but also, importantly, helping us internationalize higher education.

Finally, we need to support linkages between African and American colleges and universities. There have been a few very successful linkages in the past, but I want to emphasize that a very small amount of money can make the difference between linkages in Africa. They are a little more difficult than linkages in Europe or other places, but having directed one in Wisconsin, I am aware that a very small amount of money led not only to a linkage initially but to funding for teacher training, for city-to-city relationships, for a whole variety of programs which grew out of that effort.

Another type of linkage that I should mention—there are study abroad programs. The United States is very active in study abroad in general, but as the Lambert Report noted in 1987, there were only 13 academic year programs in Africa compared to 170 in Asia, 169 in Latin America, and 1,326 in Europe. I think we need to recognize the importance of understanding the continent of Africa. And I think again this is where a small stimulus can pay major dividends not only for ties with Africa but for educating American students about Africa in American colleges.

The crisis in higher education in Africa, in conclusion, is not the stuff of headlines and television specials. Yet its potential damage and long-term impact could be even greater than the ravages of drought and civil war, which have become the daily fare of our news. Unless Africa's human resources have the opportunity to develop their full potential, the continent is destined to second-class status in the world arena, and the crises we see today will pale in comparison to what is to come.

While education is not the cure-all for Africa, its expansion and revitalization are a precondition for economic and political progress. Over the years, the United States has helped, building universities like Ife and Njala. We have trained hundreds of academics and worked with many scholars.

It is time to renew our commitment to African higher education, to build on the foundations which have been laid, and to respond to the requests of our colleagues in Africa for assistance. Let us be bold enough to take advantage of the new openness to the United States in Africa, the opportunities available to us, the excitement, the creativity. At the moment, we are seen in a very positive way.

Let us not miss this opportunity, for it will not last long if we fail to act.

What I am suggesting here is a modest American investment plan for African higher education. The utilization of American higher education talent to help rebuild and revitalize African colleges and universities. A small investment will now pay big dividends and perhaps prevent more costly failures in the long run.

We too will learn and benefit from such cooperation. That, too, is important to our own future and well-being. We have a moral obligation to share our knowledge and our talent. A small commitment on our part will go a long way in assisting in the struggle for human development, justice, and freedom.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Hayward follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. HAYWARD

I appreciate the opportunity to appear before the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Africa to discuss the current state of higher education in Africa. Your concern about the status of higher education in Africa is important at a time when many perceive us to be uninterested in the continent's development.

In my testimony today, I want to briefly spell out some of the major parameters of the crisis in African higher education, discuss recent developments in African higher education, and suggest actions the United States could take to help reverse its decline.

I. BACKGROUND

Higher education in most of Africa is in crisis—a situation which has been growing worse since the early 1980s. The crisis has major consequences for the ability of African states to train the human resources necessary for both economic and political development. In that sense it affects long-term prospects for agricultural and industrial development, economic growth, and political stability. As African states become increasingly unable to provide the quality education needed, they will continue to fall further behind the rest of the world.

This assessment is in stark contrast to the excitement and promise of the 1960s and 1970s. During that period African universities were experiencing phenomenal achievements. There was a lively intellectual life on campuses, exciting research questions were being addressed and their results published, and large numbers of well qualified and highly motivated graduates were being produced on a regular basis. During this period student enrollments grew from 21,000 to more than 400,000 students.

Anyone who has recently visited some of the oldest and most prestigious African universities, Fourah Bay College (1827), the University College, Legon (1948), Makerere (1921), Ibadan (1948), Fort Hare (1916),[1] can not but have been disheartened by what was seen. Those sentiments were well captured by Trevor Coombe in his recent Report to the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations:

> "One of the abiding impressions of this consultation is the sense of loss, amounting almost to grief, of some of the most senior professors of the older African universities as they compare the present state of their universities with the vigor, optimism and pride which the same institutions displayed twenty or thirty years ago. It is not just the universal regret of age at the passing of youth, nor the sad awareness that a generation of unique academic pioneers has almost run its course. It is also the grim knowledge that the nature of the university experience today is profoundly different for many teachers and students, so different and so inferior that some wonder whether it can rightly be called a university experience at all."[2]

In the 1990s, in most of Africa the crisis faced by higher education is, if anything, worsening day by day. Although university enrollments grew to approximately

[1] A very interesting picture of early higher education in Africa is presented in: Eric Ashby, *Universities: British, Indian, African, A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966.

[2] Trevor Coombe, "A Consultation on Higher Education in Africa: A Report to the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation," London, January, 1991, p. 2.

542,700 by 1990,[3] colleges and universities have not been able to keep up with population growth. Per capita expenditures on students are shrinking, the declining quality of primary and secondary education is having its inevitable effect on higher education (including increasing expense for remedial work), and poorly paid faculty are looking elsewhere for opportunities—many finding positions in the United States and Europe. This crisis was exacerbated by shrinking international assistance in the 1980s, fed by what seemed to be the consensus of funders that higher education in Africa was not a high priority. At the same time, most national governments have been reducing the level of support for higher education.

In much of contemporary Africa people are finding that the very training and talent they so badly need if they are to respond to contemporary economic, social, and political problems is increasingly unavailable at home—that the professional training given ten years ago can no longer be provided under existing conditions. Many universities are starved for funds at a time when they need to expand their scientific and technical capacity, reform the curriculum, repair and rebuild seriously deteriorating physical plants. Added to these difficulties is the growing problem of staff losses that further erode the quality of their institutions. Some libraries, laboratories, and other facilities have deteriorated to the extent that they are inadequate for even the most minimal requirements. Many universities do not have access to computer technology for teaching or research. These deficiencies are further exacerbating already serious shortages of trained people in science, technology, the social sciences and business.

The deterioration in the overall situation of African universities is demonstrated by a wide variety of data which describe the decline in most of Africa. These statistics are especially devastating in the light of expected population growth in Africa from 337 million in 1980 to 640 million by the year 2000. Africa has the highest percentage of young people under fifteen years of age at 45.2 percent compared to 22.8 percent for the industrialized countries.[4]

From 1980 to 1983 alone, according to World Bank figures, spending on education in Africa dropped from $10 billion to $8.9 billion.[5] It has only slightly improved since that time. From 1983–86 per pupil expenditures fell in all three levels of education. While expenditures were falling student enrollments in post-secondary education were increasing dramatically, though at a slower rate in recent years. In the twenty-four African states for which there was data for 1980 and 1985, nineteen grew at a rate which averaged 57%.[6] Nonetheless, the rate of growth in enrollments in already overcrowded educational institutions is slowing down, from 14.2 percent (1960 to 1980) to 8.2 percent for post-secondary education since 1980.

A recent Association of African Universities (AAU) study of nine selected universities found major stagnation or decline in government recurrent funding in all but one of the cases (the exception was Mozambique which increased).[7] Striking examples of decreases were Obafemi Awolowo University in which recurrent funds in 1984–85 were only 58% of funding in 1980–81, the University of Ghana in which 1982–83 funding fell to 25% of 1979–90, and Ahmadu Bello University where 1983–84 totals fell to 71% of 1980–81. Since most of these institutions expanded during that period, the financial crisis became even more acute.

The facts are clear, higher education in Africa is in crisis. Very few universities are improving in quality, for much of higher education in Africa the current situation is worse than it was only a decade ago. In only a few of these cases do solutions seem to be forthcoming in the near future.

At one level, the problem is largely economic, a reflection of the global recession, decreased demand and lower prices for African agricultural and raw materials. That decline is exacerbated by growing external debt, political instability in many coun-

[3] Estimates for 1990 by William S. Saint, World Bank, personal communication, September 1992. For an excellent review of the overall situation see his recently published *Universities in Africa: Strategies for Stabilization and Revitalization*, World Bank Technical Paper Number 194, Washington: The World Bank, 1992.

[4] UNESCO, "Planning, Governance and Management of Higher Education in Africa," background paper, Seminar on Higher Education Governance and Management in Africa, University of Ghana, November 1991, p. 4.

[5] A World Bank Policy Study, *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization, and Expansion*, Washington: The World Bank, 1988.

[6] The Universities were: Addis Ababa University, Ahmadu Bello University, University of Burundi, University Nationale de la Cote d'Ivoire, Educardo Mondlane University, University of Gezira, University of Ghana, Legon, Obafemi Awolowo University, and the University of Zambia.

[7] Association of African Universities, *Study on Cost Effectiveness and Efficiency in African Universities*, A Synthesis Report, May 1990.

tries, continued population growth, complicated in much of the continent by famine, war, and disease.

At another level, the decline reflects a reduction in international funding for higher education by USAID and many other donors. AID, for example, moved away from higher education support to focus on basic education. The shift for AID is illustrated by the decrease in higher education projects in Africa dropping (according to one count) from 23 in the 1970s to 13 in the 1980s, two in 1990–91 and 1 in 1993–94. USAID policy remains largely unchanged with the exception of South Africa, where several higher education projects are currently underway.

The decline in the quality of higher education also reflects the consequences of new demands for a broad range of government services in the face of economic decline. National needs in areas like health care, food, housing, clean water and sanitation grew as resources contracted. The results of these demands on budget allocations have been disastrous for higher education in the vast majority of African countries. As a result, colleges and universities became increasingly unable to respond to the demand for higher education or to meet the need for highly trained professionals.

It was not always so. In the 1950s and 1960s African universities were a source of great pride and high expectations. Governments were able to allocate substantial proportions of their budgets for university education and in the process higher education fared very well indeed. The donor community was also very generous with higher education helping to set up universities in a number of African nations (e.g. Ife in Nigeria, Njala in Sierra Leone), providing funds for scholarships, buildings, and research.

National governments made major efforts to establish and support high quality colleges and universities during this period. The situation in Ghana in the 1950s and 1960s was typical of that in many other states. In many people's minds, education was tied to freedom and to progress. Higher education flourished with the expansion of University College, Legon and with the addition of a college of technology in Kumasi. Education was a powerful issue—and those who championed it in these early years found great resonance for their efforts among the people. Education, development, and independence went hand in hand. All promised a better future, opportunities for all, especially for the children. Education was seen as the key to development: for some people education *was* development.

With the growth of universities in Africa came conflict with government. Centers of intellectual inquiry often meant questions directed to government, calls for greater participation, for democracy, for freedom of speech and press. Faculty and students frequently became the major critics of repression and corruption, and the champions of an open society. One would have expected nothing less from institutions of higher education, but as is often the case, the criticism stung those who felt they were doing their best, embarrassed others whose misconduct was exposed, and frightened those unaccustomed to the open give and take of ideas. The response in far too many cases was increasing government control over almost every aspect of higher education. What had been largely autonomous institutions came under political control. Vice-chancellors frequently became more political than academic, sometimes more dependent on government than on faculty and students for power and authority. Major policy-making fell increasingly to the politicians and bureaucrats rather than the faculty or administration. And when tensions spilled over, it was government which intervened—sometimes brutally—further weakening autonomy.

The decrease in autonomy was followed by budget cuts, some to express government anger, some presaging the early stages of economic decline. By the 1980s, as we have noted, the financial situation for most colleges and universities in Africa was in serious crisis.

As the situation deteriorated on many campuses, the morale of the campus community fell. The human and political costs of fighting one losing battle after another for funds, autonomy, and freedom was substantial. For many faculty, survival was impossible on university salaries and a second job was essential. In many universities, the majority of faculty members had other employment. Some fled to other occupations or other countries. It is estimated that 30% of skilled professionals from Sub-Saharan Africa are currently living outside Africa.

A number of vice chancellors were dismissed by political elites because of conflicts between the university and government. This tendency created both a crisis of leadership and of confidence at many universities. Coupled with a combination of severe financial restraints, crumbling infrastructure, and faculty losses, many African universities are struggling to survive.

I have presented this long litany of problems, not to suggest that the situation is hopeless, but to make clear the extent and magnitude of the current crisis in African higher education. Yet in spite of the crisis, the pessimism, the discouragement,

as one spends time at African institutions of higher education in the 1990s, one is also struck by the ingenuity, dedication, and hope which can be found. At some institutions impressive planning is underway about how to improve and/or transform higher education.

II. RETHINKING HIGHER EDUCATION IN AFRICA

In South Africa, Mozambique, and Namibia, an extraordinary effort is underway to reconceptualize, to question, to plan, and to rebuild a university system that reflects national needs and high standards. Everything is being called into question. Can it be done better, more cheaply, more efficiently? Is it necessary in this form? How does one get education to the people in a context of scarcity? How does one maintain quality without succumbing to elite privilege? Are there other ways to think about university education in the context of great financial stringency? Does it make sense to establish a differentiated system like that in the U.S. to meet the high demand and wide variety of needs?

Speaking of the effort to rebuild education in South Africa at the 1992 Education Conference, Prof. Jakes Gerwel (Vice Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape) framed the debate saying:

> Our principal objective at this conference must be to try to answer this question: how can we intervene to begin the construction of an education system which will contribute to the tasks of national development in a democratic society and, at the same time, address the deep rooted problems of race, gender and class inequalities generated by apartheid?"[8]

Part of the excitement generated about education in South Africa is the openness and flexibility of its leaders, their willingness to adjust, to change, to rethink plans and strategies in the light of a constantly changing situation. One comes away from observing the process with great hope and a feeling that we will all learn important lessons from the process.

Initiatives for change come from other areas as well. In Nigeria there are calls for rethinking higher education generated as a result of the both current crisis of higher education and from a sense of uneasiness about the lack of success of earlier efforts. The comments of two scholars are particularly instructive.

Professor J.F.A. Ajayi, formerly Vice-chancellor of the University of Lagos, has been a frequent advocate of change. His central point is that in the 1990s African universities continue to suffer from their failure to take control. In a 1992 address to a UNESCO/AAU conference in Accra, Ghana he noted that little had changed since he observed in 1973 that African universities need to focus on "* * * the creation of virile academic communities, which are prepared to take the initiative in seeing that the universities serve the best interests of the nation, and which are able and willing to defend the essential interests of the universities so that they remain of the utmost value to the society they serve."[9] He call for autonomy, emphasis on creativity, links with the international academic community, while protecting its African character.

Another stern critic of contemporary African higher education is Abiola Irele. He suggests that the expansion of higher education has produced disappointing results to date and calls for revitalizing and rethinking African higher education. He sees the university as the essential base for building a better future for Africa suggesting that: "The University remains the main platform for moving us into the center of modern civilization."[10] In a very practical way Irele suggests: "We must begin to limit ourselves to what can be handled within the limitations of the resources available to us. Not only should the number of universities be reduced, but many programs should be eliminated."[11] He proposes that what African higher education most needs is intellectual aid, not economic assistance.

What is most striking about Irele's work is his conception of education and development. He sees development as: "* * * not merely an economic concept but essentially a moral idea. It has its basis and justification in a humane conception of life, in a deep concern for the quality with which it is lived."[12]

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[8] Jakes Gerwel, "National Education Conference: Keynote Address," University of the Western Cape, March 1992, p. 7.

[9] J.F.A. Ajayi, "Towards an African Academic Community," Reproduced from T.M. Yesufu, ed. *Creating the African University: Emerging Issues of the 1970s.* Ibadan: Oxford University Press, 1973, p. 12.

[10] Abiola Irele, "Education and Access to Modern Knowledge," *Daedelus*, volume 118, number 1, p. 136.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

There have been a number of formal reviews of higher education in Africa. The Association of African Universities (AAU), which is the only continent-wide organization in Africa, has launched a major project to help revitalize higher education. This effort was conceived in the context of the current crises effecting African higher education. The AAU has begun a series of studies and reviews designed to help chart a new course for higher education. Its director, Prof. Donald Ekong noted in a recent paper:

> "Because the universities depend predominantly on government grants for their funding, the inability of governments to maintain levels of grants in relation to inflation and cost indices or to increase them relative to demands for increased enrollments and new programmes has led to very grave deterioration in facilities to the extent that the quality of programmes and output as well as capacity of the universities in the development process is threatened."

He goes on to suggest a series of actions that should be taken by universities including: review governance to enhance the university's ability to take its own initiatives to solve problems; reappraise goals in terms of political realities; improve management and strategic planning; review academic programs; find alternative sources of funding.

In Southern African there have been a number of initiatives. In Namibia there was the Presidential Commission on higher education which produced a report entitled "Higher Education in Namibia," an impressive effort designed to create a new system of higher education in Namibia restructuring existing institutions and establishing new ones deemed more appropriate to national needs.

In South Africa, the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC) has stimulated and coordinated a series of impressive studies on all levels of education. The *National Education Policy Investigation: Post Secondary Education Report* came out in December, 1992.[13] It is a very impressive effort to rethink the whole system of higher education in South Africa in the context of the elimination of apartheid and the transition to majority rule.

National education commissions are at work in several African countries including Nigeria and Kenya. In both cases major reviews of higher education have taken place. While no major transformations have taken place in either country, the reviews are important efforts to focus on the problems and formulate new policy.

Several studies focus on private higher education as a major solution to the crisis in higher education and the shortage of opportunities for students. The number of private colleges and universities in Africa is very small. There are private colleges in several African states including Sudan, Madagascar, Kenya, Niger, Rwanda, Zimbabwe and Zaire. Most were founded and run by religious institutions. In Kenya, which has gone further with private institutions than most of Africa, there are eleven certified private colleges. All but one are religious based. Even in Kenya, the total enrollment represents only about 5% of the total higher education student population.[14] The high cost of private institutions makes it unlikely that they will become realistic alternatives to public higher education.

Even if private higher education succeeds at some level, as it has in Kenya and Sudan, education in private institutions is likely to be limited to a small group of middle and upper income individuals. Nonetheless, even at 5 percent (as in Kenya) private colleges and universities do offer an alternative. Those institutions which are perceived to have special benefits to offer, like a religious environment or high quality courses in specific subject areas, may draw students from families or communities able to pay and thus ease pressure on public institutions.

A number of colleges and universities are involved in innovative efforts to create new sources of funding for higher education. Some interesting experiments have been undertaken in Sierra Leone, Ghana, and Namibia. In the latter two countries student fees have increased to become a significant part of costs recovery. In all three cases other sources of revenue like farms, evening courses, summer workshops, and business links, have been tapped to offset the difficult financial situations. While success is modest, these experiments are well worth watching.

Perhaps most impressive are the countless faculty members working under adverse conditions in all parts of Africa, who are nonetheless providing high quality instruction in spite of the odds. One sees two American trained biological science faculty members at Njala in Sierra Leone, teaching labs during the two hours a day the college had electricity and water, lecturing and helping students in five labs being run simultaneously. Students are ten deep to a single lab space, hanging out

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[13] NEPI Research and Coordinating Group, *National Education Policy Investigation: Post Secondary Education Report*, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1992.

[14] Thomas Owen Eisemon, "Private Initiatives and Traditions of State Control in Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa, "Washington: The World Bank, January 1992, p. 9.

the windows, straining to see, taking notes without lab books while asking questions and audibly sharing the excitement of discovery. This is the dedication and interest that deserves our help. A little assistance will go a long way to enhance a spirit the United States helped create when we helped establish Njala as an agricultural college in Sierra Leone.

These are but a sampling of the new ideas and creative thinking going on in Africa today. Some are direct responses to new demands, crises, and tensions. Others reflect attempts to explore new approaches to higher education—approaches which demonstrate the exciting creativity currently taking place in African higher education. These efforts create a context in which new initiatives can bear fruit in assisting African higher education. They provide the basis for suggesting that the United States should make a major effort to respond to both the crises in African higher education and the creative forces in place in Africa working to build stronger institutions of higher education.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

In an era in which there are so many intractable problems, African higher education is one area in which the United States can make important contributions at modest cost. We should make our contribution in our areas of strength, building on the experience and human resources which can be called upon to assist in areas of critical need. This assistance will help maximize the impressive talent and human resources already in place in Africa.

What we have to offer is a great wealth of experience in higher education, having developed a high quality diversified system. We have made major advances in areas of great interest to African higher education ranging from the application of new technologies to strategies for management and strategic planning in a context of scarce resources.

Since the 1970s and 1980s, American higher education has had crises of its own, and in the process confronted an array of issues including major budget cuts, the search for alternative sources of financing, the need to provide student support programs, calls for academic program reviews and rationalization of course offering, demands for teaching improvement and evaluation, quality control, and proficiency testing. As a result, we have developed a vast array of new approaches, techniques and programs. We also have developed a corps of educators who are willing to put this experience and knowledge to work assisting in the efforts to rebuild and improve African higher education.

We believe that the most successful efforts involve cooperation between American higher education and our African counterparts. It can take place on an institution by institution basis, through faculty and student contacts, through education associations, NGOs, or in a variety of other ways. Some of the needs of African higher education are related to programs already established in the United States to respond to similar needs. In that sense, they can often be modified to meet African requirements and conditions at little or no cost. This is not to suggest that we have all the answers or that we can solve African education crises from afar. What we do have is the facilities, experience, and human talent to be of service to our African colleagues. And there is a real eagerness for such assistance—assistance which could be provided at very little cost. The benefits would flow not only to Africa, but to American higher education and to our citizens as well.

If our recent experience with several pilot programs in Africa is typical, such efforts can provide the impetus for change and transformation. For example, we have seen that happen in South Africa in the early stages of a strategic planning effort and in a small but successful library cooperation project in the Western Cape. It is also demonstrated by successes like the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) periodicals project where a modest amount of money has made an important contribution to a number of African libraries by providing 200 journal titles to libraries in 38 Sub-Saharan African Countries.[18] Individual linkages between colleges can have a similar impact on a one to one basis. I have seen this happen in Sierra Leone where a linkage between Fourah Bay College and the University of Wisconsin-Madison gained a momentum of its own, growing to include a study abroad program, joint research, city to city school linkages, faculty development, and teacher training. The small amounts of funding which helped make the initial linkage possible, was multiplied many times by other funding generated over the years. All this went a long way to enhancing educational opportunities in both Sierra Leone and the United States.

[18] Lisbeth A. Levey, Director, Project for African Research Libraries: *A Profile of Research Libraries in Sub-Saharan Africa.*

Successes in critical areas like faculty development, strategic planning, leadership training, student bridging programs, and information technologies, will provide an important stimulus for other areas. The demonstration effect of success should not be underestimated.

Let me make a number of concrete recommendations for action:

1. A new program of assistance to African higher education.—United States investment in African higher education is critical. While the needs in primary and secondary education are important, Africa cannot develop without high quality institutions of higher education. To suggest, as some have, that Africans can get the training elsewhere is to relegate the continent to perpetual second class status. African states need the benefits which flow from high quality institutions at home whether it is research on local problems or access to a pool of talent and information which can be called upon when needed. The United States has made major contributions to higher education in Africa in the past, it is time to do so again. The American efforts now underway to assist higher education in South Africa should serve as a model for what ought to be done in the rest of Africa.

Robust systems of higher education in Africa are in our national interest. Higher education is the cornerstone of economic and political development and the improvement of the well-being of its citizens. That in turn enhances the opportunities for trade and business. Africa has a long entrepreneurial history. While hindered by colonialism and its legacies, the spirit remains. With proper stimulation, it will bear fruit for the continent as a whole. As a nation with roots deeply embedded in Africa, we have a vital stake in helping promote success.

2. Building on the strength of U.S. higher education.—We have major assets in U.S. higher education which could be used to help revitalize African higher education. We should assist and encourage more university participation in the process.

One of the strengths of American higher education is a very highly differentiated educational system of community colleges, undergraduate, graduate and research institutions. Many have years of experience in distance learning, courses at non-traditional times and places, telecourses, and other programs. They provide a range of options which might help African higher education meet enrollment pressures and deal with diverse demands for advanced training.

The HBCU's have a vital role to play in these efforts. They have invaluable experience with affirmative action (better than in the historically white institutions), faculty development, and student support programs. Facilitating linkages with African institutions would provide important international opportunities for students in both the United States and Africa.

3. Target quality improvements in faculty development, strategic planning, leadership training, research, and student academic support.—While there are many areas of need for the revitalization of African higher education, including major needs for buildings, scholarships, and campus expansion, the immediate focus of U.S. assistance should be on strengthening the quality of administration, planning and management capacity, faculty development research, and student bridging programs. These areas are critical preconditions to success more generally. Given limited financial resources such quality improvement should be our major focus. These are the areas in which we have a great deal to offer.

Advanced training for African professionals.—A high priority should be given to assisting African universities with advanced training for faculty, staff, and administrators. In many countries there is a serious shortage of faculty with PhDs. In far too many institutions a significant percentage of faculty have only a Masters or BA-honors as their highest degrees. Advanced training for African professionals, preferably in cooperation with African universities to minimize the brain drain, will provide major dividends in improving the quality of African higher education.

Research.—There is a long history of high quality research in African colleges and universities. Sadly, much of it has been eroded by loss of funding, deteriorating infrastructure and heavy teaching loads. The vast array of economics, social, and political problems facing African states need to be the focus of higher quality research carried out in African universities. Assistance to promising research centers and research efforts in Africa, coupled with cooperative research efforts (mentioned below), will produce major benefits for Africa as a whole.

There are several approaches which might be adopted. Among them are innovative cooperative arrangements between American and African universities with some part of graduate study carried out in the United States and the remainder in Africa. Such projects would both cut the cost of faculty development and help insure that funds produce trained professionals who take up posts in Africa.

Strategic planning and management.—The crisis in higher education in Africa has sparked a reevaluation of the administration of African higher education, as noted earlier, by individual African universities, donor organizations, and institutions like

the Association of African Universities (AAU). As a result, there is a growing demand for assistance in rethinking and upgrading university administrative and planning capacities. This is an area in which we have a great deal of experience and an extensive pool of talent which can be tapped at relatively low cost.

The needs of African institutions of higher education in the policy area were highlighted in the 1988 World Bank policy study "Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization, and Expansion," in which it was argued that there was a pressing need for assistance in support of educational policy reform. Of special interest were the development of new education policies and administrative reform.

African universities, the Association of African Universities, and other regional associations have expressed a keen interest in receiving this kind of assistance from the United States. Funding these programs would go a long way to eliminate major weaknesses and help expand African expertise in the latest strategies, innovations, and techniques of management and planning.

Student academic support.—A major problem for higher education in Africa is the inadequacy of a significant proportion of primary and secondary education. Sometimes the deficiencies are in particular areas (such as math and science in South Africa) or a function of weakness in the curriculum. Without effective bridging courses, even the best college and university opportunities can be wasted. American colleges and universities have extensive experience in providing a vast array of such assistance. There is no point in duplicating techniques and methods which have already been developed at great expense. Assistance here would help overcome a major problem and provide shortcuts to creating the pools of professional talent currently in short supply.

4. Provide strategic assistance for libraries and laboratories.—Among the areas of most pressing need are libraries, information systems, and science laboratories. Selected funding in these areas would provide immense benefits to students and the higher education programs as a whole. Science and the social sciences are special areas of need. Only 15% of Africans graduate in the sciences versus 26% in the United States. Our own experience in science education and recent efforts to improve information technologies could help many African universities achieve major leaps forward in the quality of their instruction. This is another area where a relatively small amount of funding could have high cost effectiveness.

5. Focus on educational target areas of opportunity.—There are a number of targets of opportunity for American assistance. Funding for South Africa, designed to help offset the devastating consequences of apartheid, is an excellent example. The disparities in higher education by race are enormous and will take years to reverse. Apartheid substantially limited access to higher education for black South Africans. For example, in 1991, only 9% of the black population between 18–22 years of age was enrolled in higher education as compared to 60% for whites.

It should be emphasized, that the problem will not be solved with the transition to majority rule in the next few months. It will take many years to overcome the legacy of apartheid and it is important that AID funding be continued at significant levels. The U.S. must avoid the temptation to step aside once the transition takes place believing that the problems are solved. We need to assist for the long term. The challenges ahead for South Africa will require assistance for many more years. USAID should be continued at current levels for at least an additional five years.

The response to U.S. assistance, especially at the historically Black universities, is very positive and early evidence of success is clear. There is an air of excitement, hope, and dedication that is exceptional. The benefits of successfully rebuilding South Africa's system of higher education will be felt far beyond South Africa. It will become a model for African states and spur new linkages between them.

There will be other targets of opportunity in Africa, perhaps in Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania, Mozambique, or elsewhere. It is important that funding be available and that AID have the flexibility to take advantage of promising situations in which targeted assistance can make a major difference in building high quality post-secondary initiations in Africa.

6. Provide mechanisms for Africa-wide initiatives.—There are very few mechanisms for Africa-wide or even regional higher education initiatives. While they exist in theory through the Office of New Initiatives (as unsolicited proposals), the reality is that this is not a viable mechanism for funding. Since most AID funding is allocated to the missions, a regional or Africa-wide initiative would require consultation with a very large number of missions. Having participated in one such effort, it is clear that this effectively precludes such a conclusion.

Many of the needs of higher education can be most effectively approached on a regional basis. Faculty development and leadership training, for example, could be most efficiently handled on that basis. Several efforts have been made for coopera-

tive efforts with both regional and sub-regional higher education associations. Funding such efforts is almost impossible. Yet, to set up separate programs, for example, in every African state would be difficult, costly and much less satisfactory than if done centrally or regionally.

7. Support for The Agency Center for University Cooperation in Development.—The establishment of the University Center has been an important step toward improved integration of American higher education into AID programs and better links between AID and higher education. The Center builds on a number of important assumptions: 1) that U.S. higher education is among our most important assets; 2) that it has a major contribution to make to development; 3) that improving the quality of higher education in the developing world is important to our national interest; 4) and that AID should be building on the investment it has made in higher education in the developing world.

The United States should be building on the good will created by its earlier initiatives, the experience of foreign students in American colleges and universities, and new opportunities presented by a changed international order. The University Center is once again building on the talent pool of American universities. It is essential that the Center be continued and its funding expanded.

8. Encourage more research in Africa through cooperative research agreements with U.S. colleges and universities.—Collaborative research between African and American scholars is an area in which a great deal more could be done by American colleges and universities. United States institutions have a great deal to offer in terms of opportunities, research facilities, libraries, and high tech equipment. African universities too have much to contribute in terms of trained faculty and staff, research sites and opportunities. While NSF and USAID have fostered such cooperation from time to time, a concerted effort to encourage more joint research in areas of interest to all parties could both strengthen higher education and produce material of significance to Africa and the United States.

Joint research has advantages for participants on both sides. In many disciplines, access to data, research sites, assistance with research clearance, and access to sources are very difficult. Cooperative efforts with African scholars can open new areas of research activity. The American scholar may have access to new techniques and equipment, the African to sites that might be closed to outsiders or made difficult by cultural differences. There are frequently advantages relating to local languages, customs, and expectations.

Cooperative research also often opens the door to publishing in scholarly journals and to publishers not easily available to African scholars. This increases visibility of both interested Africans and Americans and may open new vistas for a whole new audience leading to contacts and information which would otherwise be missed.

Having carried out two major cooperative projects in Africa with scholars at two different African universities, and having co-authored papers with three African academics, I can attest to many other benefits of collaboration. Among them are different perspectives, the confidence provided in results gained by more direct links to data, the value of the different kinds of access available to foreign and indigenous scholars, the excitement of insights one would have missed, and the rewards of friendships which otherwise would not have been made.

9. Support for linkages between African and American colleges and universities.—Very successful linkage programs have been established over the years between African and American universities in a variety of areas including joint research, faculty exchange, academic study abroad programs, faculty development, and outreach. Yet their numbers are small and major opportunities are being missed. A small amount of U.S. funding could provide the small margin making it possible to use this valuable tool to help both African and American higher education.

Cooperative programs and linkages should involve the whole range of higher education institutions in the United States including community colleges, undergraduate and graduate institutions. It should be recognized that the community colleges have a great deal to offer Africa which is especially relevant to the unmet demand for higher education.

The need for post-secondary institutions such as community colleges and technical institutions in Africa, is very great. The large number of African students who are studying in community colleges in the United States is clear evidence of a demand not fulfilled in most of Africa where there are very few community and technical colleges. In South Africa, for example, 66% of post-secondary students are studying at universities (including distance learning), 22% in technical institutions (called technikons) and 12% in teacher training colleges. There are five engineers for every technician rather than the reverse. Community colleges could play an important role in providing badly needed advanced training and as bridging institutions in Africa.

Far too many students who wish a college or university education in Africa do not meet requirements yet have no place to go to remove their deficiencies.

Reciprocal linkages are among the most appreciated by African universities. They help maintain faculty and staff morale while allowing relief from the pressure of overcrowded and underequipped institutions. Exchanges foster staff development and intellectual stimulation while reducing the incentives that lead employees to leave permanently. Those involved in exchanges return to their home institutions with new skills and experiences which have a broader impact at their home institutions. Such cooperation has mutual benefits. For American faculty, there are opportunities for research and cooperation which would otherwise be unavailable. Linkages bring new ideas, life, and insights into American institutions of higher education.

This is another area in which The University Center could play a role by helping facilitate linkages and by providing a continuing link that would maintain and promote close and lasting relationships among interested faculty and staff. Assisting cooperation in this way would be a very low cost program which has the potential for very high payoff.

Another type of linkage which is beneficial to both African and American institutions is the academic study abroad program. Unfortunately, there have been very few study abroad programs in Africa, and many of those which have been instituted have foundered for a wide range of reasons. The Lambert Report[16] found only 13 academic year programs in Africa in 1987 in contrast to 170 in Asia and 169 in Latin America. There were 1,326 programs identified for all countries and most of them were in Europe.

Among the most serious obstacles for study abroad programs are the enormous enrollment pressures already facing African universities. To admit one American usually means to deny one African admission. Those programs which have fared best have had elements of reciprocity built in. They have also been relatively small. Some have involved individual institutions, others have been run through consortia.

One problem with many student exchanges and study abroad programs is that they have all too often been one way programs. As one African vice chancellor noted to this author, in more than 25 years of one study abroad program only two of his students had been to that institution. Many study abroad programs make extra demands (for which they do not pay) of administration and faculty. Some are being indirectly subsidized by the African government. Those situations ought to be avoided.

A few programs have been based on true reciprocity allowing student exchanges in both directions or an exchange of American undergraduate students in an African study abroad program for tuition and other costs for African faculty development at the U.S. institution. Such efforts generate good will by facilitating opportunities for advanced study for faculty members who do not have PhDs. It usually also results in the creation of an environment of close contacts which help provide better advising and supervision on both sides. Such contact can encourage the exchanged faculty member to return to the home institution in Africa after the study period is completed.

While study abroad programs are not without costs, they can be run at reasonable expense if arrangements are worked out carefully between participating institutions. The most successful programs are those that are designed for the long term. When the programs work well they strengthen ties between the United States and African institutions, raise international awareness on both sides, and provide a pool of talent important to both participating countries in the long run.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The crisis in higher education in Africa is not the stuff of headlines and television specials yet its potential damage and long-term impact could be even greater than the ravages of drought and civil war which have become the daily fare on our news. Unless Africa's human resources have the opportunity to develop their full potential, the continent is destined to second class status in the world arena and the crises we see today will pale in comparison to what is to come. While education is not the cure-all for Africa, its expansion and revitalization are a precondition of economic and political progress.

Over the years the United States has played a major role in helping build higher education in Africa, assisting in the establishment of institutions like Njala and Ife, training hundreds of its academics, and working with many of its scholars. It is time

[16] Richard D. Lambert, International Studies and the Undergraduate, Washington: American Council on Education, 1989, p. 32–33.

to renew our commitment to African higher education, to build on the foundations which have been laid, and to respond to the requests of our colleagues in Africa for assistance. We must share our knowledge, ensure that those we train have first-class educational institutions to return to, and that our African colleagues have the opportunity to utilize their talents fully.

Let us be bold enough to take advantage of the new openness to the United States, the opportunities available to us, the excitement, the creativity. At the moment, we are seen in a very positive and special way. Let's not miss this opportunity for it will not last long if we fail to act. Our assistance could have powerful benefits for development, trade, peace, and good will.

What I am suggesting here is a modest American investment plan for African higher education—the utilization of American higher education talent to help rebuild and revitalize African colleges and universities. A small investment now will pay big dividends and perhaps prevent more costly failures in the long run. I don't want to suggest that resolving the problems will be easy or that these actions alone will solve the crises confronting African higher education. But they will help. We too will learn and benefit from such cooperation. That too is important to our own future and well-being. We have a moral obligation to share our knowledge and our talent. A small commitment on our part, will go a long way to assisting in the struggle for justice, human development, and freedom.

Africa/U.S. Comparative Higher Education Data

	Africa	United States
Number of Universities: 1993	109	3,712
Enrollments: 1980s	865,700 *	13,710,150
Enrollment Growth: 1980–88	61 percent	17 percent (1980–91)
Rate of growth: 1980–90	8.2 percent	17 percent (1980–91)
Output: Graduates: 1987	83,000	1,049,657 (1989)
Sciences (Undergrad)	15 percent	26 percent
Funding:		
Total spending: 1983	$8.9 million	$135 billion (1988)
Average estimated cost per student: 1988	$1,233	$7,800 (1989–90)
Education expenditures in proportion to GNP: 1988	4.0 percent	5.0 percent (1990)
Per student expenditure fall from 1986–89	55 percent	(1)

* Including 323,000 in South Africa at 21 universities
1 Per student expenditure rose about 13 percent from 1979-80

Senator SIMON. Thank you.

Dr. Morris.

STATEMENT OF DR. FRANK MORRIS, DEAN OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH AT MORGAN STATE UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE, MD

Dr. MORRIS. Senator Simon, it is a real pleasure to be here. But before the clock starts to tick, I would like your indulgence. One of the things that we do is that when we talk about African universities we sometimes do not recognize in our midst the presence of some real experts on African universities. They are representatives of the African-American Institute in Africa, from Africa, who are at the back. And a number of them visited Morgan State University on Friday for a wonderful visit, and we discussed some items, some of the items which I will be testifying to.

I told them I was going to do this. I would like to have them come a little closer so that we can see them. Come on down front. So that in some of my remarks that can be supplemented from folks who are in the field and who really know it well. This is not to interpret that they have seen my remarks or know about them. But I do want them that if I am in conflict I would like to have them pull my coat tail and so forth and maybe have you have the benefit of hearing their views.

Senator SIMON. Let me say that unfortunately the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has a rule that has ground out of hard experience that we do not permit non-U.S. citizens to testify.

Dr. MORRIS. Oh, I am sorry, sir. I did not know that. But anyway, thank you very much.

Senator SIMON. But we welcome the distinguished visitors from Africa here, and we appreciate your presence. And I hope you tolerate how we operate. After our hearing I would be very pleased to meet with you very briefly.

Dr. MORRIS. Good.

Senator SIMON. Thank you, Dr. Morris.

Dr. MORRIS. Senator Simon, first let me just simply say some things that are not in my remarks that I think, as I heard your remarks, your opening remarks, you are well aware of and reflect your sensitivity on this issue. The fact, of course, that we, as president of the Council of Historically Black Graduate Schools, we represent a long tradition of support for Africa and African students, often without resources from the U.S. Government, long before it was fashionable. And although I commend Mr. Hicks and the university linkage program for some more recent steps toward equity, the potential contribution of historically black colleges and universities to African universities is still a well that is largely untapped.

Of course, the other things which you mention about the concern with long- and short-term kinds of planning, let me just simply say also, as a former AID retired officer who has served time in the field, the rotational patterns of the Foreign Service, as I am sure you know, really do focus on sort of—encourage more focus on short-term efforts rather than the long-term efforts.

And then one other thing I want to say is that the use of indigenous—Mr. Hicks told that we are now beginning to realize the utilization of indigenous experts. As I will point out later on in my testimony, the fact that many donor countries, I think, have not really valued some of the indigenous experts in the local countries, have led to a situation where we see now in Africa there are more than 100,000 expatriate experts that are in the continent, with an annual cost estimated at almost $4 billion out of our total development assistance to Africa of almost $13 billion, last figures I ran. So we see a great deal of the aid to Africa is really conveyed into expatriate advisers.

Now, one of the things that is obvious, that if African institutions are strengthened and African expertise is utilized, there should be some considerable savings. And the point I wanted to make, and maybe a little more concretely in my presentation is that often, I do not know if there is a conflict of interest, but many times what we are asking, it is not very likely sometimes for those who are benefiting from this support, considerable support to expatriate assistance, to necessarily work themselves out of a job quite rapidly. So I think we need to just realize that and urge our donor groups to sometimes start to question the unquestionable or ask about the unasked.

Also, we are a beneficiary of the linkage program from AID, and I was interested in Administrator Hicks' remarks on those. And I think that it is right, this is a great program, as my colleague mentioned. But the level is totally inadequate. You know, 16 of link-

ages that we currently have for 300-plus universities? We could handle more than 16 in our group of historically black graduate schools alone.

The levels, the inadequate funding for the university linkage programs, and possibly the necessity of targeting some assistance to some of those for HBCU's, who we feel we have certain similar affinities of having to learn how to make do with very, very little with having the extension and the service commitment is an equal part of our research traditions, these are things which we think that we really, really believe that we could be much more important actors.

By the way, Senator Simon, I want to apologize. I was sorry I was not able to make the May 1 conference in Chicago. I understand it has gotten very good results. There have been rave reviews about that.

Senator SIMON. Yes.

Dr. MORRIS. I wanted to follow up. In my remarks I articulated a little better about the remarks that talk about the comparisons of our assistance with Eastern Europe and our limited assistance for Africa. Ironically, as we see in historical efforts, at the same time where major improvements in the fight for democracy was happening in Eastern Europe, similar kinds of things were happening in the African Continent.

It is regrettable, and as an African-American it is outrageous, that similar kinds of emphasis and benefits and focus was not made in terms of support of the African movements. One of the things I hoped you might consider is that maybe we need to have some Simon amendments on all kinds of legislation where there are certain kinds of initiatives to help the private sector and infrastructure and numerous other, and especially when there are adjustments toward structural adjustment factors in Europe, that they be made also for Africa.

Africa, where we find the need is simply greatest, hunger the most deep rooted, socioeconomic indicators the lowest, the worlds largest refugee populations—once again, you would never know that from our own immigration policy with refugees—and the weakest democratic institutions, most profound environmental degradation but yet not the kind of comparable U.S. support.

We must say, if no one else will, I was concerned with Mr. Hicks putting of the priority we give in terms of assistance to African universities. when there was no money for books, when professors have to take multijobs, when the physical plant is decaying. I think there should be a priority to support the basic minimum kinds of facilities, because we will never be able—the African countries will never be able to utilize their expertise if they are cut off at the nascent stages and are continued to forced to be heavily dependent on expatriate assistance.

I have other things to talk about. The expatriate assistance approach and why other or newer institutions who have not been part of that, such as HBCU's, are likely to really deal with that. I also wanted to mention that I think one of the weaknesses of the linkage program is that it is good for various kinds of contacts. But the kind of research that could be mutually done or cooperatively done, there is simply no funding that are available for anything like that.

So my time is up, Senator. I will rest on my remarks, and I would hope that the linkage program is strengthened, that the institutions are strengthened, and that special attention be given to the impact of the various structural adjustment programs—31 out of 51 African countries—the impact on African universities, and as adjustments are made in Eastern Europe often for political reasons and others that the case is even stronger, the economic case and the humanitarian case is stronger, that these same types of adjustments be made in Africa.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Morris follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. MORRIS

Chairman Simon and other distinguished members of the Senate Committee on African Affairs, I am pleased and honored for this opportunity to discuss the subject of Higher Education in Africa focusing particularly on the dire situation that African Universities almost without exception throughout the continent find themselves facing. I bring greetings from the President and staff of Morgan State University and from my colleagues in the forty plus member Council of Historically Black Graduate Schools. I do not believe in simply spelling out or dwelling upon the problems or conditions so I also intend to discuss what should be done. I also will be speaking to better utilize the experience and expertise of historically Black colleges and universities (herein after referred to as HBCUs) in support of African Universities possibly by special funding through a much larger University linkage program funded by AID.

One of the best things that we Americans could do about the problems is to change the way we currently are operating in Africa. Specifically we should stop our crisis intervention only approach to the continent; our willingness to implicitly assume that we can not address the major political and economic problems there because we have more important strategic problems elsewhere and because with the decline of the cold war we have one more reason to continue to devalue most of Africa. As an African American, which is simply our most recent and accurate way of defining we Americans with direct African lineage, we are outraged with the very positive way democratic movements were welcomed, triumphed and more importantly greatly and tangibly supported in Eastern Europe while similar epochal movements toward democracy throughout Africa have not received neither the American political celebration and attention nor the more tangible educational and economic support that we are giving to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. This is in spite of the fact that by any definition of need, the need for American support is and has been greater for Africa than for Eastern Europe.

Any moral underpinning and basic legitimacy in our foreign aid is undermined whenever need is neglected in our foreign assistance programs. Too often our Eastern European assistance programs which often are justified on both need and equity never are forced to explain why similar programs are not offered to African states which are located on the continent where the poverty is greatest, the hunger the most deep rooted, the socio economic indicators the lowest, the worlds largest refugee populations (but not nearly the largest number of refugees that qualify for refuge in the United States under our current policies), the weakest democratic institutions and the most profound environmental degradation but yet cannot get equal U.S. attention and support. I wonder why it is so much more difficult to get support for African states in comparison to European states when the need for assistance in Africa is so much greater.

A simple request is that the array of market development technical assistance, educational exchange, business development guarantee, debt relief, easing of structural adjustment standards in international organizations and other assistance that is being made available to Eastern Europe be also available to African nations. I would especially request that Senator Simon, consider offering African amendments that would grant to African nations struggling toward democracy, the benefits in support of democracy currently being granted to various Eastern European nations. Many African nations have asked for U.S. assistance on a number of these dimensions without success. African higher education does not exist in a vacuum. 31 of 51 African states are currently undergoing IMF structural adjustment agreements. These agreements are having devastating effects upon African higher education because as I am sure that you are aware, Africa is not blessed as yet with the diverse private universities that we are in this country. Thus when public sector budgets are squeezed, as they inevitably are under structural adjustment programs, and

when currencies are consistently devalued with the corresponding reduction in living standards, African public universities are caught in a series of negative cycles that can almost rapidly destroy what has taken decades to build.

As a retired U.S. (AID) senior foreign service officer there are some practices of AID donors that further undermine African universities and countries. One devastating practice is to tolerate and unfortunately often encourage the use in development of expensive expatriate foreign advisers in critical development posts often in lieu of U.S. and western trained African experts living in the country. Many host country government officials actually encourage the utilization of foreign advisers over local expertise. The reasons are varied. Sometimes difficult decisions can be locally covered by contending that it was the idea of the foreign expert under conditions crucial to the acceptance of aid. In other times it is part of keeping potential competitors for jobs or political support from gaining visibility. Regretfully at other times it simply reinforces the divisions already in the host country society and culture. The cost of this practice on African development is staggering. There currently are more than 100,000 foreign advisers working in the public sector throughout Africa at a cost of more than $4 billion. That figure represents almost 30% of official development aid to Africa which is estimated to be around $13.4 billion. Thus 30 years after many African countries gained independence 30 percent of foreign assistance is going to expatriate advisers while many U.S. trained African graduates and even more important many graduates of African universities are unemployed, under employed or truly underutilized.

Regretfully the outside adviser approach is rarely if ever questioned by those who are benefiting from this outrageous situation. These beneficiaries are western donor technicians, contract personnel, consultants and field administrators. Included in this lot are the major American research universities who have provided the bulk of U.S. technical assistance to Africa for at least a generation. There is a need for new American players and more important the wholehearted involvement of indigenous African expertise to take the lead in the new development assistance planning for Africa. The excessive use of expatriate personnel is especially wrong at this time when university enrollments were expanding and even new under funded universities are still being built.

Currently about 30% of African undergraduates cannot find work appropriate to their level of training. Between 1980 and 1983 African university enrollments increased 30% to 437,000 not including the 100,000 being trained outside of Africa. However degrees in the arts, humanities and social sciences accounted for 65% of these students and only 35% were in the sciences and engineering. These ratios had not changed since the 1960s. Millions and possibly billions could be saved by a crash influx of resources and assistance to African universities to strengthen their current education investments in science, technology and management training fields. This must also be accompanied by a conscious policy of donor nations such as ourselves to mandate the use of qualified and trained indigenous experts and a conscious policy to rapidly phase out the over dependence on foreign experts. Unfortunately I believe that there exists among foreign donors an arrogance that borders on racism that is comparable to the way most American research universities view African Americans. These universities never question the dearth of African American Ph. Ds that they are producing because they really do not believe that African Americans have the intellectual ability. They see the issue as personal limitations rather than systemic inequities and opportunities. I contend that the refusal to limit expatriate expertise in favor of local and western trained indigenous expertise is singed with the same arrogance boarding upon racism that we African Americans continue to experience in this country.

For African universities to meet their potential for development and in support of open markets and sustainable development they must do some things and we must do other things. As they must address the educational choice and mix of their graduates; we must as an influential donor demand the reduction in expatriate use; we must also move to alleviate the devastating effects of structural adjustment agreements which has for the overwhelming majority of African Universities resulted in the shortage of trained staff, many of whom have to work second and third jobs to make ends meet; the absence of books, journals, supplies and especially well stocked up to date science laboratories; and in general an educational environment plagued by inadequately maintained physical facilities, cuts in electricity, water supplies, communication facilities and no budgets for research.

I would like to recommend that one outcome of these hearings would be a decision to target some U.S. support to African universities. What a boon it would be for them to have an educational support grant fund so that they could import critical American textbooks and other library resources and vital science and engineering laboratory supplies.

There is something else we as Americans can do. We need to provide resources to facilitate linkages between African Universities and our Historically Black Colleges and Universities. As President Earl Richardson of Morgan State University noted last week to a visiting delegation of African educational experts, who also happen to be attending this hearing, Black Universities commonly called HBCUs have lived through experiences that are more directly related to the experiences and environment of struggling African universities than the experiences and dominant values of the major American research universities that have been the disproportionate beneficiary of U.S. assistance. HBCUs know what it means to make do with less; they have a grand tradition of not simply giving lip service to service but developing many innovative ways of serving extremely disadvantaged people and with little or no resources. The capacity of many HBCUs have been further strengthened because many, like my own have working agreements with major American research universities. We have such agreements with the University of Illinois in Chicago and Johns Hopkins. A major linkage and Eastern European scale program for Africa coupled with a deliberate effort to reduce expatriates has great promise for both African economic development and African universities.

I would like to request that this committee request an amount of between $15–20 million per year for linkage and student faculty and administrative exchange and support relationships between HBCUs and African universities. There are many research questions that are critical for African development which could be jointly pursued by African university and HBCU faculty. Some representative issues are how we can mute the effects of ethnic strife, conflict resolution which specializes on racial or color conflict; the question of increasingly capital intensive manufacturing processes on labor migratory movements in both Africa and the United States. Each could learn from the other about such topics as the African American experience in labor and civil rights organizations and the African experiments with non market economies. Both cultures could also jointly explore issues of youth development.

There are many more things I want to say to you about strengthening the overall university linkage program out of AID but that will have to wait until another day. I also wish I had enough time so that you can hear directly about the problems of African universities from some of the African university officials who are in the audience today as guests of the African American Institute.

Senator SIMON. Thank you, Dr. Morris.

Mr. Schieren.

STATEMENT OF MR. CARL SCHIEREN, VICE PRESIDENT, THE AFRICAN AMERICAN INSTITUTE

Mr. SCHIEREN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, for the invitation to address the committee today on higher education in Africa. This is the first time, as far as we recall, that any congressional committee has ever considered this subject, and I am very moved by this, by Mr. Hicks' statement and by your attention to Mr. Hayward's work. Mr. Morris is a member of the American Council of Graduate Deans and has given much of his time to education in Africa.

The most formative period of my life was a period I spent in the early 1960's at the University of Ghana, where I lived the dream that many of us had then and many of us still have today of higher education in Africa. Africa's highly educated population is needed more than ever and welcome this initiative you are taking today.

Senator SIMON. You were in what field of higher education?

Mr. SCHIEREN. I was at the University of Ghana doing African studies in 1962 and later spent 18 years with the American University in Cairo.

Mr. Hayward has given a very good overview of the state of African universities, so I need not review that. There is serious question as to the relevance of existing institutions in producing research or students appropriate to the needs of the job market, able to provide critical thought, transmit professional values, or reflect

their country's gender and ethnic balance in their faculty and student bodies. Higher education is the linchpin of successful development in other countries, because it can fulfill these national roles.

They face serious financial constraints. Given priority now given to basic education, African universities probably cannot count on more State funding. They are going to enter a new era where they are going to have to redefine themselves, develop new constituencies to support new and revitalized missions and new funding sources.

They must do so in an extremely difficult climate. My written testimony touches upon the impact of conflict, population, debt, demobilization, democratic participation, and a supporting environment. Here, I want to at least mention the last three.

DEMOBILIZATION

In the post-cold war era, Africa cannot afford massive armed forces. Urgent attention is needed to help remove the threat that the men and boys currently in regular and irregular military service pose to civilian authority and eliminate the burden they impose on their economies. External financial and technical assistance to address military demobilization through training and incentive payments would be a bargain compared to previous outlays for military assistance or costs of renewed warfare. Such support could strengthen peace and might help universities participate and develop nondegree training capabilities for the public.

PARTICIPATION

In the past 2 years, 23 African nations have initiated experiments with political participation. In Benin, Zambia, Mali, Niger, and Madagascar new leaders have come to power. In Ghana and Senegal, old leaders have returned with a popular mandate, under new rules of accountability. A proliferation of new constitutions, electoral and other laws, prescribe a limited role for government, guarantee independence of the judiciary, and basic freedoms. For universities, these sea changes, usually accompanied by improved academic freedom, constitute a historic moment when they can redefine their missions and develop new concepts with their internal communities, with government, business, nongovernmental organizations, grassroots organizations, and donor agencies, in ways that have never before been possible. Well considered programs of this kind merit strong American support.

INCENTIVES AND SUPPORTING ENVIRONMENT

Mr. Hayward mentioned the brain drain, and Mr. Morris mentioned the cost of expatriate consultants. The fact is that while these phenomena may result from poor fits between fields in which Africans have been trained and those that are needed today, they also reflect inadequate incentives paid to African teachers, researchers, and consultants and working environments that defeat most of the strongest efforts to do work that is of high quality and that serves African needs.

I have been asked to speak today about the education programs of AAI, incorporated 40 years ago with the express purpose of offer-

ing higher education opportunities to Africans. It has 22 country program representatives in Africa. These extraordinary colleagues have more than 400 years of experience working in educational activities. They happen to be here today, and their views will be included in the second section of my testimony, which I will get to you after the meeting.

Our programs began as a loan fund for Africans studying in the United States. Then, we sent American teachers to Africa before establishment of the Peace Corps, for which AAI experience helped provide a model. We operated schools for refugees. We helped in the establishment of the Association of African Universities through creation of an exchange program among African universities, themselves.

AAI has helped educate approximately 18,000 people.

AAI's AFGRAD—African Graduate Fellowship Program—has provided nearly 2,800 graduate fellowships to African students from 47 countries and over 200 American universities. Involvement of the American Council of Graduate Deans, whose members go to African countries to participate in selection of candidates, has helped AAI obtain commitments of tuition waivers for each AFGRAD fellow and a high standard for students. A POSTAF component provides short-term tailored programs for those who need them. More than 90 percent of AFGRAD students return to their countries and include 620 alumni working in African universities, including six university presidents.

The successor program, ATLAS, has a field services component that attracts alumni, disseminates a directory, and publishes a newsletter. In partnership with the African Academy of Sciences, we also organize regional and national conferences for graduates on development topics.

Unlike AFGRAD, where participants were funded centrally through AAI, under ATLAS, USAID missions in each country determine and pay for the participation they wish, now about 150 new students each year, most at the masters level. The reduced number of Ph.D. students under ATLAS is a concern to AAI and the graduate deans who believe Ph.D. study is the ultimate form of long-term capacity building.

My written statement also refers to the program we are undertaking with the black universities in South Africa, begun with support from the Ford Foundation and picked up this year by AID, and to the PIET Program under which we provide short-term training for Africans in the States.

From this experience, we believe the United States should continue and expand its higher education programs in Africa. American engagement with African universities can contribute to stemming the marginalization of Africa in the United States and help keep Africa in the intellectual mainstream.

The key is development of African capacities. I would like to propose some recommendations. I was not going to read the statistics, but in view of what has been said before, I would like to.

African students in the United States, including North Africa, have declined from a high of 14 percent of all foreign students from 1975–76 to less than 6 percent, or under 24,000, today, the lowest percentage in 20 years. This mirrors the state of African economies

and the inability of private citizens and state organizations to afford this kind of study.

Asia, with 230,000 students, accounts for 56 percent. Students from China, Japan, Taiwan, Korea, and India all individually outnumber the students sent to the United States from the entire African Continent. As a reflection of American interests, Africa, with 1.3 percent of Americans studying abroad, attracts the least of any world region, while Europe attracts an overwhelming 76.7 percent.

Asian countries have invested massively in American training, mainly, for the best students and cutting edge disciplines. They have given wide responsibility to many returnees in business and professional and scientific life. Since Africans will never have the resources for this kind of an approach, the United States should provide opportunities for professional development in carefully selected Ph.D. fields, specifically targeted as being critical to development of African capacities. We recommend that AID provide central funding through ATLAS for 10 Ph.D. fellowships each year.

SKILLS TRAINING FOR UNIVERSITY STAFF

Short-term study tours and training programs for university staff, and things like development, registration, student records, information systems, sponsored research, can be extremely effective and should be done immediately under existing programs. Opportunities in the United States could be combined with opportunities in other African institutions.

Senator SIMON. If you could conclude your statement.

Mr. SCHIEREN. OK. We think AID should expand the POSTAF Program to enable us to provide this kind of opportunity.

We enthusiastically endorse long-term linkage programs and would have a number of things to say about that.

We would recommend that AID facilitate the ability of ATLAS to coordinate on matters of fellowships and linkages with the AID University Center and the national institutions concerned.

We would recommend that AID develop a vehicle to support African universities in targeting capabilities to address the question of military demobilization, so that they could develop in the long-term and adult education component.

We also believe that there is a special role that should be played these days as African-Americans become major participants in international affairs, commensurate with the role they are playing in other areas.

We believe that African-Americans today constitute the single-most important potential source of support on African issues in the United States and want to support and work closely with initiatives that have been undertaken between American universities and HBCU's.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Schieren follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MR. SCHIEREN

Thank you Mr. Chairman for the invitation to address the committee today on the subject of higher education in Africa, the first time, as far as we recall, that any congressional committee has ever considered this subject.

It is appropriate, because Africa's universities are in crisis, and as Africa's highly educated population is needed more than ever.

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S FOREIGN POLICY

The foreign policy of President Clinton, consistent with much of previous American policy concerns, has three precepts, each of which require a strong higher educational system.

1. Fostering democracy. Democracy requires an informed citizenry, with leaders able to think critically and independently.

2. Encouraging economic development and market economies. Which development requires engineers, scientists, entrepreneurs, innovators, and managers who understand world markets, modern communications, new technology, good management and skills.

3. Promoting and expanding collective security. This requires individuals who can articulate and negotiate peace and security for their people.

THE STATE OF AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES

There is great diversity in Africa's approximately 109 universities, and special circumstances in the universities in South Africa. Nonetheless, there is a pervasive crisis in African higher education today. It has been particularly well documented in a study by Zambian educator Trevor Coombe and more recently in a paper by the World Bank. University enrollments *have grown* grew 61% from 1980 to 1990 to an estimated 542,700, well beyond their capacities. Recurrent costs per student fell by two-thirds, not through efficiency but by cutbacks in research, library acquisitions, (books per student declined from 49 to 7 between 1979 and 1988), staff development and maintenance. Quality has plummeted as measured by lower student scores on examinations, reduced research, and employer criticism of the performance of graduates on the job. Faculty suffer salaries that force them to drive taxis, isolation from international scholarship in their fields, and weak or nonexistent funding and infrastructure for research. They endure violations of academic freedom, politicised, unpredictable funding and heavy-handed government interference in university operations. There is serious question as to the relevance of existing institutions in producing research or students appropriate to the needs of the job market, able to provide critical thought, transmit professional values or reflect their country's gender and ethnic balance in their faculty and student bodies. Higher education is the linchpin of successful development in other countries because it can fulfill these critical national roles.

FINANCIAL CONSTRAINTS

In 1990 155 countries met in Jomtien Thailand and declared their commitment to universal, basic education by the year 2000. But in sub-Saharan Africa one of two children won't make this goal. One in two will not be able to make choices for him/herself based on independent sources of information. Given needs of basic education, there is little likelihood that additional state funding, now averaging 85% of recurrent expenses, will be available for universities that benefit the relatively few. African universities are now entering a new era where they will have to redefine themselves and develop new constituencies to support new, revitalized missions.

THE CONTEXT OF UNIVERSITY DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

The context in which universities operate in Africa today is affected by more than simple funding. *Conflict, population, debt, and demobilization are in my written testimony. Here I want to stress democratic participation and a supporting environment.*

1. Conflict

The first is conflict. No country being torn apart by war can devote effective energy to its people. While Eritrea operated schools through 30 years of guerrilla warfare, in the experience of Liberia, Angola, Somalia and Mozambique constant warfare has caused untold human misery, set back national development and preempted development for people. Ways simply must be found to address these and the other more than 40 conflict situations that exist in Africa today. General Olesegun Obasano, former President of Nigeria and President of the African Leadership Forum, has proposed a Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa, Modelled on the lines of the Helsinki accords, this would be a process involving African states and major non-regional allies in promoting security, human rights and economic concerns in the region and that would legitimize the right of one state to inquire on violation of shared precepts by another. In addition, the Institute has proposed, an African Center for Conflict Resolution. The Center would be private, not with the participation of any state, based in Africa and run

by Africans, able to call upon distinguished leaders and specialists from African and from elsewhere in the world, to identify and help avoid conflict situations and to resolve conflict underway.

2. Demobilization

In the post-cold war era Africa cannot afford and superpowers will not continue to help pay for huge armed forces. From crisis points in Angola, Mozambique, Liberia, Togo and Zaire, to now quiescent Ethiopia, and Somalia and even to Nigeria and Ghana where large-scale fighting has not occurred, there are massive numbers of regular and irregular troops. Urgent attention is needed to help remove the threat these men and boys pose to civilian authority and eliminate the intolerable burden they impose on their economies. External financial and technical assistance to address military demobilization through both training and incentive payments would be a bargain compared to previous outlays for military assistance or the costs of renewed warfare. Just as the U.S. now funds housing for Russian officers, investment in training African guerrilla fighters and staff of established military organizations could reduce the threat of future conflict and make a positive contribution to building skills and attitudes for development. Such support could strengthen peace, and might help universities participate and develop non-degree training capabilities for the public.

3. Participation

In the past 2 years, 23 African nations have initiated experiments with political participation. In country after country citizens who in the past were passive actors under authoritarian and often corrupt regimes, find themselves to be participants in a new and hopeful future. In Benin, Zambia, Mali, Niger, and Madagascar new leaders have come to power. In Ghana and Senegal old leaders have returned with a popular mandate, under *new* rules of accountability. A proliferation of new constitutions, electoral and other laws prescribe a limited role for government, guarantee independence of the judiciary and basic freedoms. These changes are facilitating an explosion of new forms of expression and creation of a whole array of local authorities, grassroots organizations and a freer private business sector. The possibilities for political pluralism, civil society, improved governance and respect for human dignity, provide an important enabling environment through which individual can participate in changing their societies. Democratic Initiatives have cost very little and are a timely and appropriate investment by the United States.

For universities, these sea changes, usually accompanied by improved academic freedom, constitute a historic moment when they can redefine their missions and develop new compacts with their internal communities with government, business, nongovernmental organization, grassroots organizations and donor agencies—in ways that have never before been possible. Well considered programs of this kind merit strong American support.

4. Population

Long-term. The single greatest constraint to African development is overpopulation. With the highest population growth rates in the world, family planning and reduced population growth is critical if Africa is to use its limited resources to develop its human and economic potential. Throughout Africa, population and family planning programs are taking root, with increasing engagement of the private and voluntary sector, as well as with university partnerships. Continued U.S. Government efforts in this area can contribute to greater contraceptive prevalence, better health conditions and strengthening management capacity of many local organizations.

5. Investment and Debt

Even with peace, participation and good government, Africa needs infrastructure and capital investment to take advantage of its often abundant natural resources and provide jobs. With debt in excess of its gross national product and debt servicing obligations in excess of the total amount that Africa now receives, debt often incurred by former illegitimate regimes and need for new investment are crisis matters for African nations, that account for the majority of the world's poorest nations.

6. Incentives and Supporting Environment

Africa's producers, be they on the factory floor, in small holder farms or in the university classrooms, need incentives and a supporting environment. New, market oriented agriculture pricing policies are reviving African agriculture. However, African nations have been suffering an approximately 7% annual loss of their senior government and university staff through emigration to other countries. At the same time there are estimates of from 40,000 to 100,000 that expatriate advisers have

been working in Africa at a total cost estimated at more than half the total amount of its international assistance. While the disparity may reflect poor fits between the fields in which African have been trained and those that are needed today, it also reflects inadequate compensation and inadequately supportive working environments in most institutions.

AAI HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT WORK

I have been asked to speak about the education programs of the African-American Institute, incorporated 40 years ago, with the express purpose of offering higher education opportunities to Africans. It has 22 overseas representatives. These extraordinary colleagues have more than 400 years of experience working on educational activities. They happen to be here today and their views are reported in the second section of my testimony.

AAI was founded in 1953 as the result of a six-person initiative that included James Grant, now Executive Director of UNICEF, and Leo Hansbury, the distinguished African-American writer, to provide advice, scholarship assistance and other services to African students in the United States and broaden understanding of Africa in the United States. Early encouragement by the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Brothers fund was the beginning of their support that has been uninterrupted since that time and that has gained similarly strong and critical backing from the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation. This base of support from U.S. private foundations, plus a private endowment of $10 million and annual giving by individual and corporate contributors has provided a firm underpinning for the Institute's independence, even though much of its program support comes from A.I.D. for human resource development.

AAI's programs began as a loan fund for Africans studying in the United States. Since then AAI 1) sent American teachers to Africa before establishment of the Peace Corps, for which AAI experience helped provide a model; 2) operated schools for refugees from southern Africa in Tanzania and Uganda and a regional heavy equipment training center in Togo; 3) helped at the establishment of the Association of African Universities in the creating of an exchange program among African universities themselves and 4) ran the African Scholarship Program of American Universities (ASPAU) for undergraduate study in the United States. Through these past activities and major current ones funded by A.I.D. and described below, AAI education and training programs have served approximately 18,000 Africans.

1. The African Graduate Fellowship Program (AFGRAD)

AAI's largest and oldest program the African Graduate Fellowship Program (AFGRAD), accepted its final intake in 1991. Since 1961 AFGRAD has provided nearly 2,800 graduate fellowships to African students from 47 countries in over 200 American universities. Involvement of the American Council of Graduate Deans, whose members go to African countries to participate in selection of candidates for fellowships, has helped AAI obtain commitments of tuition waivers for each AFGRAD fellow an guarantee a high standard of students. A POSTAF component provides short-term tailored programs for those who need them in American universities. More than 90 percent of AFGRAD students returned to their countries and now include many distinguished individuals, including three Prime Ministers who have come to power on the current wave of democratic reform. AFGRAD's contribution to African higher education can be seen in the 620 alumni now working in African universities, including 6 university presidents, 33 deans and 65 department heads.

2. Advanced Training for Leadership and Advanced Skills (ATLAS)

AAI now administers the successor to AFGRAD, called "Advanced Training for Leadership and Advanced Skills" or "ATLAS". ATLAS has a Field Services component that tracks AFGRAD alumni, disseminates an alumni directory and published a newsletter. In a partnership with the African Academy of Sciences, AAI also organizes national and regional conferences in Africa for graduates on development topics, such as "Governance", "The African Family, Health and the Environment", and "Export Promotion Strategies". It also supports grants to nongovernmental organizations in which alumni may be engaged. These activities are designed to help graduates network and be more effective in their work in Africa.

Unlike AFGRAD where participants were funded centrally through AAI, under ATLAS USAID missions, in each country determine and pay for the participation they wish, now about 150 new students each year, most are at the master's level. The reduced number of Ph.D. students under ATLAS is a concern to AAI and the graduate deans, who believe Ph.D. study is the ultimate form of long-term capacity building.

3. Southern African Programs

AAI is phasing out a long-running Southern African Refugee Training Program, which placed students both in the United States and in other African countries. It is helping repatriate former students in Southern African, in part through a bi-monthly newsletter, *SASPOST*.

In South Africa black universities such as the University of Western Cape, University of the North, University of Fort Hare enroll more than 90 percent of the approximately 75,000 black university students in the country. They were intentionally located in remote areas and systematically underfunded under apartheid. In 1989, with a pilot program with the University of Western Cape, AAI began providing opportunities for faculty to spend 6 months at American institutions, where they carry on research or more often undertake a study program that strengthens their capabilities to teach at home. Begun with assistance from the Ford Foundation, AAI has just received AID funding to open this program to all other black universities in South Africa.

4. Partners for International Education and Training (PIET)

Ten years ago three other nonprofit organizations, The Asia Foundation, the Experiment in International Living (now World Learning) and Amideast, teamed up with AAI to form Partners for International Training (PIET), *under which* to provide short term training programming and management for USAID missions worldwide. AAI is managing partner of the overall activity and also handles all participants from African countries. Under PIET AAI has handled more than 4,000 trainees from Africa in programs ranging from courses a week or two in duration to full-term Ph.D. programs. A PIET program called *Enterpreneurs International* has brought approximately 170 African entrepreneurs to the U.S. for 3–6 weeks of on-the-job training with U.S. businesses.

FUTURE POTENTIAL OF U.S. INSTITUTIONS IN AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Mr. Chairman, from this experience and in light of the severe challenges facing African universities today, we believe that the U.S. should continue and expand its higher education programs in Africa. American engagement with African universities can contribute to stemming the marginalization of Africa in the U.S. and help keep Africa in the intellectual mainstream.

The key is development of African capacities. While we at AAI have focused on developing the capacities of individuals and have been pleased that so many individuals have returned to and are working in Africa, some are not there. Without changes in the operating environment, many may join those who have left. We all know the Nigerian or Senegalese who once unproductive in his or her own country, goes to Paris, Washington or Atlanta and becomes a leader in the field. We cannot separate individuals from the institutions and environments in which they work, and future efforts must provide the means for African men and women to take initiatives in creating new environments, *and* I would like to propose some recommendations.

1. African Students in the USA

African students in the United States (including North Africa) have declined from a high of 14% of all foreign students in 1975–76 to less than 6%, or just under 24,000 today. The lowest percentage in 20 years, this mirrors the state of African economies and the inability of private citizens, and state organizations to afford such study. Asia with 230,000 students Asia accounts for 56%. Students from China, Japan, Taiwan, Korea and India all individually outnumber the students sent to the U.S. from the entire African continent. As a reflection of American interests, Africa with 1.3% of Americans studying abroad attracts the least of any world regions, while Europe attracts an overwhelming 76.7%.

Asian countries have invested massively in American training, mainly for the best students in cutting edge disciplines. They have given wide responsibility to many returnees in business, professional and scientific life. Since Africans will never have the resources for such an approach, the U.S. should provide opportunities for professional development in carefully selected Ph.D. fields specifically targeted as being critical to development of African capacities. These might be highly specialized fields as part of an African-based effort to develop core staff for a strong department or regional center of they might be interdisciplinary programs whose student might help establishing an interdisciplinary program in Africa. Strong specialization and interdisciplinary perspectives are both hallmarks of U.S. higher education. We recommend that A.I.D. provide central funding through ATLAS for 10 Ph.D. fellowships each year.

2. Skills Training for University Staff

Short-term study tours and training programs for university staff in areas of university management such as strategic planning, development, registration, student records, adult education, finance, information systems, library administration, and sponsored research can be extremely effective and could be done immediately under existing programs. Opportunities in the U.S. could be combined with opportunities in other African institutions. We recommend that A.I.D. expand the ATLAS POSTAF program to provide central funding for 15 short-term training programs for African university staff members in American universities.

3. Long-term Linkages With One or Multiple U.S. Universities

University linkages with American institutions to develop a specific capacity in an African institution are an excellent means of helping those who can in turn develop others—at far more reasonable cost. The challenge in designing such programs will be to see that, in terms of rigor, methodology and the ability to develop both effective expression and critical thought, programs in Africa inspire standards close or equivalent to programs at leading institutions elsewhere in the world.

While there have been many failed attempts at linkage arrangements, I would like to suggest that there is a unique set of opportunities that can and should be recognized and developed by American universities educational institutions and interested donor organizations.

For American universities, linkages provide an opportunity to give international outreach to faculty and students, well beyond traditional contract with Europe.

For African universities, linkages offer potential access to people at the cutting edge of the profession, particularly those where change is rapid or where help is needed in combining disciplines for work in multidisciplinary fields. For faculty it can provide access to research sources and opportunities for to keep in contact with the profession through refresher courses or assignments in the United States, and access to equipment and library resources not otherwise available.

As much as possible, linkages must be professionally rewarding for the American faculty, or run the risk that participation will be second rate. This is harder in microbiology or electrical engineering than in anthropology or political science. Such arrangements work best when the commitment is long term on both sides, and multiple members of given institutions participate in exchanges of teaching staff. Clear, achievable objectives, careful planning and attention to matters of financing and sustainability can and should be established at the outset.

In the past funds have been made available directly to U.S. universities, which then have an incentive to market themselves to Africa. Some donor experts propose vehicles that place funds with African institutions or with intermediary institutions that will permit African universities greater choice, even competition, among American universities with which they might work. In the spirit that initiative for planning and institutional redefinition be with African universities themselves, the specific vehicle for linkages deserves careful study. We recommend that A.I.D. facilitate the ability of ATLAS to coordinate on matters of fellowships and linkages with the A.I.D. University Center and the national educational institutions concerned.

4. Military Demobilization and Adult Education

We recommend that A.I.D. develop a vehicle to assist targeted African universities to develop educational capabilities that could help provide a range of job specific training for regular and irregular demobilized military personnel. Once this task is completed, the capability would become the nucleus of permanent adult education programs serving local communities.

5. Training and Technology Innovation by the Private Sector

There is an unexploited role of the private sector in training and a potential for partnerships that remains to be developed. Upon reentry into South Africa, Lotus Inc. established a foundation to train Africans in spreadsheets. Such training by Lotus and other vendors in the future, and the introduction of user-friendly software with self-learning tutorials, together with plummeting prices for computers could bring about in South Africa the kind of office productivity revolution that has taken place elsewhere. Motorola is establishing a satellite network that will make it possible for someone in a remote African village to have instant phone or video contact anywhere in the world. this will open up new possibilities for communications and access to data and information. Could not such technology as this or let us say CD–ROM technology through which African libraries could purchase 400 periodicals with complete backlists in one relatively inexpensive order enable Africa to leapfrog years of decline?

6. Greater Use of African Talent

Donors should *use Africans* draw upon the base of Africans now living and working in their own countries to participate in the design and implementation of new programs. This can help provide opportunities for resident citizens and may help lure back expatriates. When unavailable, they should try those from other African countries with similar experiences and provide opportunities for and help ensure sharing of African experiences among African professionals. Expatriates, when engages, must *and require expatriates whenever engaged to* transfer skills to Africans. Congress can and should direct AID to apply these priorities.

7. Involvement of African-Americans

African-Americans are becoming major participants in international affairs, commensurate with the role they have long played in other areas. With this emergence has come a new and more sophisticated evolution of the relationship many feel they have to Africa. From the search for an ancestral past has emerged a growing bond of common respect with Africans, a sense of kindred burdens in the modern world and a sense of mutual economic interest. African-Americans today constitute the single most important potential source of support on African issues in the United States. There have already been promising initiatives undertaken between African universities and Historically Black Colleges and Universities, initiatives that deserve notice.

Mr. Chairman, "the summer is over, the harvest has come, and we are still not yet free." These words from Isaiah reflect the sad state of African higher education. Fortunately, unprecedented changes taking place in Africa today offer a unique opportunity for universities to define themselves and chart their own courses. This opportunity for African universities is also an opportunity for the United States and U.S. institutions to provide selective assistance in helping African universities themselves become strong, to celebrate the ethnic diversity of our two continents and bring Africa into the intellectual life and broader consciousness of our nation.

Senator SIMON. Thank you.

Dr. Robinson?

STATEMENT OF DR. PEARL ROBINSON, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, TUFTS UNIVERSITY, BOSTON, MA

Dr. ROBINSON. Thank you. First of all, I would like to thank for inviting me here. I am thrilled to be here. One of the advantages of being last is I do not go through the litany of problems.

Let me begin and see how far I can get. I will simply read the parts of my testimony that have to do with three programs that I am involved with.

The African Academy of Sciences has a research project on education of women and girls, a political science development project that is being conducted in francophone Africa, and finally some remarks about research and training at U.S. institutions related to Africa.

It is fitting that we should be turning our attention to issues of higher education for women. In the data from Africa, there is now well-documented evidence of links between mothers' education and their children's health and readiness for learning, between female education and reduced fertility, and between female education and productive self-employment both off and on the farm.

It is also encouraging to note that the differential between male and female school enrollments is no longer great at the primary school level. On average, girls account for 44 percent of total enrollments, although their completion rate is much lower than that of boys.

However, the gap widens at the secondary level where female enrollment is only 34 percent of the total. Because nowhere in Africa is access to schooling universal, this figure amounts to only 10 per-

cent of the females of secondary school age. And in the Sahelian countries, only 5 percent of females of secondary school age are actually enrolled in school.

At the tertiary level, female enrollment is only 21 percent of an even smaller educated elite. Based on a preliminary assessment, women comprise only 16 percent of the scientific community in Africa, thus wastage and attrition are high throughout the system. But the impact is disproportionately heavy with respect to females.

As one of several agencies committed to addressing this problem, the African Academy of Sciences, which has representatives here today, recently launched a research project on the education of women and girls. This project, with funding from the World Bank and the Rockefeller Foundation, seeks to promote policy-oriented research that can feed directly into initiatives mounted to reduce gener disparities in educational opportunities.

The goals are to maximize available resources and to ensure that research findings will lead to tangible improvement in policy and action as they affect women and girls. In this regard, issues of image building, self-knowledge and empowerment are at least as important as the objective of driving development per se.

The first round of research grants was made in March 1993. At this preliminary state, the program is focusing on learning more about the social and economic factors affecting the participation and performance of girls and women in formal educational institutions as well as in the labor market.

Possible solutions to the problems of enrollment, wastage, and attrition will be explored. Already it seems clear that long-term strategies will require changes in the economic incentive structure and in cultural barriers such as early marriage, religious prohibitions, and the use of child labor in agropastoral production system.

Shorter term strategies are likely to focus on retention programs to lower the attrition of girls already in school, provision of safe learning environments to protect against teen pregnancy, and increasing performance level via better teacher training and curriculum changes.

This is an experiment to watch. Moreover, the research findings should be particularly useful to donor agencies that understand the importance of developing gender sensitive approaches to technical assistance and investments in education. USAID ought to be one of the agencies that looks at the results of this project.

I turn next to an example of a project that is targeted toward building and strengthening teaching and research in the field of political science at universities in francophone Africa. I am a political scientist.

This is a Canadian-based aid initiative that was developed under the leadership of Tessy D. Bakary, a native of Cote d'Ivoire who is on the faculty of political science at the University of Laval in Quebec.

The project illustrates the possibility of simultaneously addressing the need for investments in human capital, material assistance, curriculum reform as well as the development of a democratic political culture. It is an inventive and creative approach to capacity building for African universities.

To grasp the complexity of the problem that this undertaking is designed to confront, one must appreciate the central role played by university students in many of the prodemocracy movements in francophone Africa, and elsewhere in Africa.

Student strikes at times preceded crippling general strikes called by the trade unions and political parties. Student martyrs mowed down by government troops sparked moral outrage among the general public and rendered dictatorships ungovernable. Student demands for multipartyism have been vociferous and relentless. And students' refusal to accept the terms of World Bank education reform measures have been as troublesome in the new democracies as they were destabilizing for the old dictatorships. In short, Africa's universities have been breeding grounds for revolt.

Now what the Laval project offers is a capacity-building approach to the problems of higher education that should enable the participating institutions to facilitate the passage from authoritarian regimes to pluralist democracies by contributing to the diffusion of a civic culture of tolerance and fair play.

Designed collaboratively by political scientists at Laval and educational leaders in francophone Africa, the project will have a presence in Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Bagon, Senegal, Togo, and Cameroon. In addition to the universities, it will reach out to human rights groups and other NGO's concerned with the democratic process as well as the political party leaders and various other political figures.

To summarize briefly, the project's focus is on the development of regional and subregional institutions for research, training, and knowledge dissemination. In addition to establishing permanent structures for research training and upgrading the general level of instruction, it's longer term goal is to broaden the approach to political science at these universities from the present orientation which emphasizes political theory and political history to that of a social science orientation that emphasizes the analysis of ongoing political phenomena.

Activities to be sponsored include short courses conducted in African by Canadian and European-based political scientists, and perhaps myself as well, fellowships for African-based teaching faculty to complete their Ph.D.'s, student and faculty exchanges, collaborative research projects, and the sponsorship of a professional journal, and the creation of national political science associations in the various countries touched by the project.

This is obviously a long-term commitment. Laval is securing final funding arrangements to cover the first phase for some of the pieces of this project and Professor Bakary hopes to begin initial activities by the end of May or in early June.

Now rather than read what I have to say about U.S. universities, I will leave that for questions. But I wanted to sort of end by pointing to your graph, which is interesting in a number of ways, not only the statistics that you mentioned. But one can see a lot of the trends by looking at this.

If we take, for example, the line that looks at the increasing enrollments, what we can see clearly is that the demand for higher education continues to grow in Africa. People want to go to school,

want more higher education. You have got continuing increases in enrollments. But that really translates into is overcrowding.

When we see—and this is enrollment for women—African women want higher education. In terms of the faculty figures that are declining, I was sort of looking at that big peak in 1978 and I thought now, what could have led to the peak and then the decline? Four years previously we have the beginning of the U.N. international year decade for women.

That was a time when we had lots of—all of the funding agencies wanted to give money for programs for women. But what happens is these things are not sustained. So women were in for about 5 years, funding falls off, and I think that this sort of drop in women faculty is in part a response to that.

Also, 1978, 1979 is the beginning of the economic crisis in Africa, so that money falls off. Whatever is decided to be done—and this is why I would like to applaud you, Senator Simon, for suggesting that there be a 5-year plan. There should be a 5-year plan, but there should be a 20-year strategy. Because whatever we do, if we do not sustain programs, we will get a little birth, we will create demand and then what we end of doing when those programs are not supported they need to is you get frustration, you get efficiencies, and you get yet another African crisis.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Robinson follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. ROBINSON

RETHINKING EDUCATIONAL ASSISTANCE FOR AFRICA

I am pleased to have this opportunity to appear before the Senate's Subcommittee on African Affairs and to participate in these hearings on the subject of "Higher Education in Africa." By way of introduction I would like to say that my views on educational issues are the product of over 25 years of experience working in Africa—initially as a Peace Corps public health educator, and now as a professor of African politics, a social scientist, and a consultant in international development. Much of my work has been in the nongovernmental sector, and over the years I have focused primarily on rural development, women, and various aspects of political participation. After putting the problem of higher education in Africa into a larger context, my remarks will highlight several programs with which I am presently involved as illustrations of problem-solving strategies. Overall, my testimony aims to underscore the necessity of rethinking educational assistance for Africa.

Higher Education in Africa: Defining the Problem

African societies, like societies the world over, need well-trained people who are capable of producing—not just consuming—knowledge. But in almost every country on the African continent, we find educational systems that are unable to meet this challenge. Despite a burst of rapid expansion during the period immediately after independence, in the current period, stagnation and deterioration are more the rule than the exception. A brief statement by the African Academy of Sciences described the problem as follows:

> Rapid population growth and fiscal crises have resulted in a demographic crush on available resources and a dramatic erosion of quality from the primary school to the university * * *. African governments are now attempting desperately to reformulate their education sector to adjust to population pressure and budgetary reality, revitalize existing infrastructure to restore quality, and then to consider expansion in needed areas.[1]

Several additional developments are worth noting: Since the 1980s a "brain drain" of over 70,000 of Africa's best-trained people—engineers, doctors, teachers, scientists, and the like—have left the continent to work abroad. Many of Africa's uni-

[1] African Academy of Sciences (Nairobi, Kenya), "Revised Proposal on Education Research Priorities of Girls and Women in Africa," p. 2.

versities have fallen victim to bad management, equipment shortages, and a dearth of funding even for basics like books and paper. Meanwhile political activism in the form of strikes and demonstrations, as well as government shut-downs aimed at silencing dissent, have taken a heavy toll on higher education—at times resulting in the loss of the entire academic year for all of the students in the system. In much of Africa, government investment in education is garnering a falling share of national budgets, at the same time that educational reform programs supported by bilateral and multilateral donor agencies are causing a shift in resource allocations from the universities to primary education and training programs. In regions where Islam is prevalent, Koranic schools are proliferating—largely as an option for the Muslim poor.[2]

Problems in the educational sector did not evolve in a vacuum. Indeed, for more than a decade Africa has been plagued by intertwining crises of famine, civil wars, economic stagnation, and more recently, struggles to oust authoritarian governments and consolidate pluralist democracies. Moreover, the excessive debt burden (compiled under the mis-rule of corrupt autocrats) threatens to short-circuit many of the nascent democracies. Sub-Saharan Africa's external debt is now 109% of its gross national product (GNP). In 1990 debt service came to 30% of the continent's export earnings, and in 1991 Africa paid nearly $26 bn in debt service—an amount that exceeded total expenditures on education across the continent. Hit with the double whammy of steadily declining commodity prices and the depreciation of national currencies against the U.S. dollar, Africa is now experiencing a net outflow of real resources to creditor countries.[3] In this environment, to talk about business-as-usual in the educational sector is sheer folly.

This dismal state of affairs has fundamentally shifted the terms of debate about education and educational policy for Africa. Gone are the days when educational planners concentrated primarily on how to construct the best educational systems to meet the continent's pressing needs. Today, policy-makers and educators alike are saddled with two vexing questions: What can we afford to do? and Where will we find the money?

Education for Women and Girls

It is fitting that we should be turning our attention to issues of higher education for women. In the data from Africa, there is now well-documented evidence of links between mothers' education and their children's health and readiness for learning, between female education and reduced fertility, and between female education and productive self-employment both off and on the farm. It is also encouraging to note that the differential between male and female school enrollments is no longer great at the primary school level. On average, girls account for 44% of total enrollments—although their completion rate is much lower than that of boys.[4] However the gap widens at the secondary level, where female enrollment is only 34% of the total. Because nowhere in Africa is access to schooling universal, this figure amounts to only 10% of the females of secondary school age (5% in the Sahel). At the tertiary level (i.e., higher education), female enrollment is only 21% of an even smaller educated elite. Based on a preliminary assessment, women comprise only 16% of the scientific community in Africa.[5] Thus wastage and attrition are high throughout the system, but the impact is disproportionately heavy with respect to females.[6]

As one of several agencies committed to addressing this problem, the African Academy of Sciences recently launched a Research Project on the Education of Women and Girls. This project, with funding from the World Bank and the Rockefeller Foundation, seeks to promote policy-oriented research that can feed directly into initiatives mounted to reduce gender disparities in educational opportunities. The goals are to maximize available resources and to ensure that research findings will lead to tangible improvement in policy and action as they affect women and girls. In this regard, "issues of image-building, self-knowledge and empowerment are at least as important as the objective of driving development per se."[7]

The first round of research grants was made in March 1993. At this preliminary stage, the program is focusing on learning more about the social and economic factors affecting the participation and performance of girls and women in formal edu-

[2] Marie-France Lange, "Systèmes scolaires et développement: discours et pratique," *Politique Africaine* 43 (October 1991): 105–119.
[3] United Nations, Africa Recovery Unit, "African Debt Crisis," 1993.
[4] The World Bank, *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Washington, D.C., 1988).
[5] African Academy of Sciences, *Profiles of African Scientists* (Nairobi: Academy Science Publishers, 1990).
[6] Anna P. Obura, "Educational Research Priorities for Girls and Women in Africa: Review and Reflections on The AAS Research Proposal."
[7] Obura, "Educational Research Priorities, p. 3.

cational institutions as well as in the labor market. Possible solutions to the problems of enrollment, wastage, and attrition will be explored. Already it seems clear that long-term strategies will require changes in the economic incentive structure and in cultural barriers such as early marriage, religious prohibitions, and the use of child labor in agropastoral production system. Shorter-term strategies are likely to focus on retention programs to lower the attrition of girls already in school, provision of safe learning environments to protect against teen pregnancies, and increasing performance level via better teacher training and curriculum changes.[8]

This is an experiment to watch. Moreover, the research findings should be particularly used to donor agencies that understand the importance of developing gender sensitive approaches to technical assistance and investments in education. U.S.-AID ought to be one of those agencies.

Universities and the Development of a Democratic Political Culture

I turn next to an example of a project that is targeted toward building and strengthening teaching and research in the field of Political Science at universities in francophone Africa. This is a Canadian-based aid initiative that was developed under the leadership of Tessy D. Bakary, a native of Cote d'Ivoire who is a professor of Political Science at the University of Laval in Quebec. The project illustrates the possibility of simultaneously addressing the need for investments in human capital, material assistance, curriculum reform, and the development of a democratic political culture. It is an inventive and creative approach to capacity-building for African universities.

To grasp the complexity of the problem that this undertaking is designed to confront, one must appreciate the central role played by university students in many of the pro-democracy movements in francophone Africa. Student strikes at times preceded crippling general strikes called by the trade unions and political parties, student martyrs mowed down by government troops sparked moral outrage among the general public and rendered dictatorships ungovernable, student demands for multipartyism have been vociferous and relentless, and students' refusal to accept the terms of World Bank educational reform measures have been as troublesome to the new democracies as they were destabilizing for the old dictatorships. In short, Africa's universities have been the breeding grounds for revolt.

Until the 1980s, university students in francophone Africa were a highly privileged group. The government either paid-in-full or subsidized their fees—including board, lodging and travel costs—thus providing a standard of living higher than that of people earning only the minimum wage. For the most part, graduates were guaranteed government jobs upon completing their studies. But all of these amenities were threatened when the fiscal crisis began to bear down. Structural adjustment programs have now mandated reductions in higher education subsidies as well as public sector jobs. Education reforms include the imposition of tuition, the closing of state-subsidized dormitories, and an end to guaranteed employment. The crisis has also directly impacted the quality of educational services: staffing, equipment, even books and journals for the libraries are in short supply.

Many of the students idealistically believed that democratic renewal would reverse this situation. Thus far it has not. Organized, politicized, and conversant in the marxist rhetoric of imperialism and class struggle, they find themselves with their backs up against the wall as structural adjustment and educational reform programs take away their "economic rights." The students have mastered the strike weapon and have hands-on experience in bringing down regimes. What they desperately need, however, are some viable options for the future.

What the Laval project proffers is a capacity-building approach to the problems of higher education that should enable the participating institutions to contribute positively to the passage from authoritarian regimes to pluralist democracies by contributing to the diffusion of a civic culture of tolerance and fair play. Designed collaboratively by political scientists at Laval and educational leaders in francophone Africa, the project will have a presence Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon, Senegal, Togo and Cameroon.[9] In addition to the universities, it will reach out to human rights groups and other NGOs concerned with the democratic process, political party leaders, and various other political figures.

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[8] AAS, "Revised Proposal on Education Research Priorities of Girls and Women in Africa," p. 5.

[9] The African-based institutions are the Université du Bénin (Abomey-Calavi, Bénin), Université du Bénin (Lomé, Togo), Université Nationale de Cote d'Ivoire (Abidjan), Université Omar Bongo (Libreville, Gabon), Université de Saint-Louis (Saint-Louis, Sénégal) and Université de Yaoundé (Cameroun).

To summarize briefly, the project's focus is on the development of regional and sub-regional institutions for research, teaching, and knowledge dissemination. In addition to establishing permanent structures for research, training, and upgrading the general level of instruction, its longer-term goal is to broaden the approach to Political Science at these universities from an orientation that emphasizes political theory and political history, to that of a discipline specializing in the analysis of ongoing political phenomena.[10]

Activities to be sponsored include short courses conducted in Africa by Canadian and European-based political scientists, fellowships for African-based teaching faculty to complete their PhDs, student and faculty exchanges, collaborative research projects, the sponsorship of a professional journal, and the creation of national political science associations in the various countries touched by the project. This is obviously a long-term commitment. Laval is securing final funding arrangements to cover the first phase final some of the remaining pieces of the project, and Professor Bakary hopes to begin initial activities by the end of May or early June 1993.

African Studies Resources at U.S. Universities

Since I am on the faculty of Tufts University, which does not have an African Studies and Research Center, my remarks on African studies resources at U.S. universities will focus on the role of the Social Science Research Council (SSRC). I am in my first year of an appointment to the Joint Committee on African Studies (JCAS) of the SSRC and the American Council of Learned Societies, which lists among its goals the training of the next generation of scholars, organizing mission-oriented basic research, and developing social science infrastructures. Along with a new initiative on Political Transitions in Africa, the JCAS is currently running projects on the African Contribution to Preservation of Biodiversity, African Fertility: Global Visions and Local Values, Social and Economic Data Bases in Africa, Economic Development and Social Sciences, Popular Culture, and an African Archives and Museums project.

In addition, the JCAS sponsors competitive predoctoral fellowships and advanced research grant programs. Their purpose is to strengthen research and training in the cultures, languages, politics, and historical experience of Africa. The SSRC is one of the few sources of fellowship funding for social scientific and humanistic research specifically targeted for Africa in this country.[11] I believe that the Fulbright program is the only other comparable vehicle.

Although SSRC fellowship programs have been in business for some 30 years, their funding sources are now drying up, and opportunities for training the next generation are a rapidly diminishing asset. Ironically, the JCAS is able to award fewer dissertation fellowships precisely at a time when the field of African Studies is becoming less esoteric and more in tune with important policy areas. Disciplines such as geography, forestry, demography, epidemiology, social welfare and public health have joined the ranks of the more traditional fields of history, anthropology, literature, political science and economics.

I urge the Committee to give serious consideration to the creation of a facility that would fund training and research fellowships for work in Africa. Such a fund could serve as an important resource for the new orientation of a restructured U.S.-AID. It would also provide much-needed support for this country's African Studies Centers, our Historically Black Colleges and Universities, Women's Colleges or universities with strong Women's Studies Programs, as well as agencies such as the SSRC that sponsor fellowship programs.

No Simple Solutions

From my vantage, there are no simple solutions. Reducing the government's role in the finance, management and delivery of education will not, in and of itself, solve the myriad problems of higher education in Africa. I have offered examples of several promising strategies for investing in the future. On the African side, the challenge is to transform institutions that have failed to perform optimally. On the U.S. side, the task is retain and improve our capacity for addressing global problems, by developing an intimate familiarity with local knowledge. To neglect either of these

[10] Political Science Department, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Laval, "L'enseignement et la recherche en science politique en Afrique noire francophone," project proposal presented to the International Fund for University Cooperation.

[11] The current roster of fellowship programs includes (1) predissertation fellowships which support short-term field trips to sub-Saharan Africa for students preparing for dissertation research in Africa; (2) dissertation fellowships for doctoral field research of 9–18 months; (3) advanced research grants which provide postdoctoral support for field research as well as for comparative theoretical research. All of these programs are restricted to candidates enrolled or teaching in a U.S. university and U.S. citizens abroad.

imperatives is to curtail our effectiveness as change agents and diminish what we can hope to achieve.

To complete my testimony, I have brought copies of the "Rural Africa" issue of *Saga: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women*, which I edited several years ago. In it you will find profiles of African women who are managing to find solutions to some of these perplexing problems of development.

Senator SIMON. I thank you. And I could not agree with you more when you say what we need is a sustaining level of support. I would enter into the record the statistics that Dr. Hayward gave us at the beginning.

And let me just underscore two statistics here. One is that in the United States in higher education, we have 13.7 million students. In African, roughly double the population of the United States, there are 865,000 students, 323,000 of those in one country, South Africa.

So if you were to exclude South Africa, it is almost a 26 to 1 ratio of students in higher education in Africa compared to the United States, even though Africa has roughly double our population.

And then the final statistic on the page, the drop in pupil expenditure of roughly 55 percent, while in the United States it has risen, not as rapidly as I think it should rise, but it has risen in the United States.

Obviously, there are all kinds of economic needs in Africa. I would like to address a question to all four of you. We have been able to inch African aid up a little more, not as much as it ought to be, but we have brought it up a little.

We started off after World War II with the idea that the colonial powers would take an interest in their former colonies as they became independent, a great theory but a theory that did not always work out.

About 13 percent of our economic aid goes to Africa. That is up from 11 percent a couple of years, which may not seem like much but it is a struggle to go from 11 percent to 13 percent.

Dr. MORRIS. Senator Simon, does that include the Egyptian aid, too, as part of the peace?

Senator SIMON. Pardon?

Dr. MORRIS. Does that include the Egyptian aid?

Senator SIMON. No. That does not. And we are talking about sub-Saharan Africa here.

But we have roughly $800 million in aid. We are spending roughly $12 million on higher education, or about 1½ percent. If you were suddenly made head of AID and you were asked what percent, knowing there are all kinds of needs in Africa, but what percent of the AID level should go to higher education, Dr. Hayward?

Dr. HAYWARD. Well, I think it would certainly be far above the $12 million currently there. It is hard to make those assessments without knowing what some of the other things are.

Senator SIMON. I understand.

Dr. HAYWARD. But I think, you know, something in the neighborhood of 15 to 20 percent. And I say that because one of the things that is very clear as one looks at the deterioration of higher education is that the cost is already being paid, but the cost in the long run is going to be paid very dearly, in that Africa just is not training the kind of people that are needed to reverse the economy. And

I think part of that is a consequence of our focus on basic education.

And I think this is perhaps an illustration of the sort of tradeoff you are talking about. I think the concern with basic education is vital and important and I would not want to diminish its importance. But the focus on primary education, and at one point the World Bank's statement that postsecondary education was not really a priority, led to a kind of conclusion that I think is not sustainable.

It said, in essence, Africa did not need higher education. If people need higher education in Africa, they should go to the United States or go to Europe or go someplace else. And I think it was a misunderstanding of what higher education is all about.

Not only does higher education produce graduates, but it produces a wealth of people who you can call upon if you need them, a wealth of expertise. It produces research by people who know the area in which they are doing research. It produces the trained graduates who can produce the kind of economic results you need.

So I do think that the cuts in assistance to higher education were a tragic mistake. And the World Bank has since changed its mind on that. I think we need to do the same by increasing our percentage of aid to higher education.

Senator SIMON. Dr. Morris?

Dr. MORRIS. Senator Simon, it is an empowerment kind of question. Just the ability to possibly substitute, as I mentioned in my testimony, expatriot help from indigenous expertise, it would be able to free up a lot of other things.

Also, I think our focus should be more holistic. I do not think it is just enough to look at our relatively small aid levels. We need to look at what influence we weld in terms of donor groups and in terms of being able to influence the IMF and other kinds of agencies to make changes in structural adjustment conditions. These can have a tremendous mobilization of the internal resources that can have a great deal to do.

So I think that you are absolutely right in raising the aggregate point, you know, and certainly not in comparison with other parts of the world. If there is any kind of humanitarian need considerations, in Africa by definition, rises a priority. So that is a first point.

But the second point, that it is not just—it is a matter of resources, but it is not just our resources. It is a mobilization of our weight and influence, which I think can be significant in terms of changing things in Africa.

Senator SIMON. Mr. Schieren?

Mr. SCHIEREN. Well, I begin by begging the question slightly and looking a bit broader. After having lived for 15 years in Egypt, working for a university in Egypt for that period and having seen what I thought was the very minimal amount that America got from its massive investment in the Egyptian foreign aid program, I would look at ways to find additional funds elsewhere for the DFA. What we provide for Africa by world standards and by Africa's needs is shameful.

With higher education initiatives want to go back to the African universities themselves. I think the challenges that have been

thrown out by the donor group for reformulation, reorganization, are good challenges.

We should be proactive and very responsive to institutions that come forward with plans for their own futures. The 5 years, the 20 years you are talking about, that is the timeframe for a university. Universities are very traditional institutions. It is hard for them to change overnight. You have got to nurture an environment in a university, invest, and it has got to be very long term.

Senator SIMON. That is true even in the United States.

Mr. SCHIEREN. Absolutely true.

Dr. HAYWARD. Yes, indeed.

Dr. MORRIS. Yes.

Senator SIMON. Dr. Robinson?

Dr. ROBINSON. First of all, with all due respect, I must say that somebody who has been lobbying for several years at least to get aid to Africa, at least up to $1 billion—the $800 million sounds so low—that it is hard for me to deal with this question.

I cannot say that it should be increased from 1.5 percent to 10 percent or 20 percent. What I will say, however, is that in additional to getting aid at least up to $1 billion, that whatever is done, it is not how much, but how it is done that one needs to pay attention to all these investments or all the money that was spent that proved to be bad investment that was wasted, that one needs to try to have some ways of identifying people, because I think people are extremely important, people who will use money well, people who are forward thinking, people who see money as resources, who are committed to the future.

And whatever you do, I think it is important to understand that one of the reasons the brain drain is there and will keep seeping is because if higher education cannot provide an environment to sustain the best minds, then Africa is doomed to only get worse. And it is a continent that has so much potential that it would be criminal for us to allow things to continue that way.

The other thing I would say, I left this out of my—I did not read this section—but it is also very important to continue funding opportunities for American students to learn about Africa. There is a new sort of movement in international education. Everything is global. Everybody is talking global.

But it is important to understand that we must talk global with some local knowledge. If all we know how to do is to talk about the macrolevel and we do not understand the languages and cultures, if we do not really have these statistics have brought out today, then this attempt to move toward a new world order where everything is global will be built on a house of sand.

Finally, I brought something for you, which is a journal I edited, a special issue of SAGE, the scholarly journal on black women that comes out of Spellman College in Atlanta. And what this is, it is an issue on women in rural Africa. There are a lot of profiles of African women who are development specialists that talk about the things that they are doing, the ways in which, with relatively little money, women are involved in helping their societies improve, empowering themselves.

Senator SIMON. I thank you. I look forward to having it. Let me—I think I am safe in saying that all the panelists believe we ought to be increasing the level to higher education.

Let me just slightly disagree with Dr. Robinson. Maybe we do not agree. When she said the question is not so much how much but how, I agree it is how, but I also think it is how much, too. I think the dollar figure is important.

And we are simply not providing the assistance level in general. When you mentioned the $800 million figure, you are correct.

I was just going through, last night, the 1990 AID report. And frankly, I am not sure whether this covers 1988 or 1989. Citizens exchange programs, 11 for Africa, 163, for example, for Latin America.

Pardon? USIA, yes. I said AID, USIA.

Teacher exchanges, all of Africa, we have 2 here, 218 in Europe.

Well, I can go into—academic programs, lectures for Africa, 64; for Latin America, 138; Europe, 312. Clearly, we have to do a better job.

I am not sure where we are going on this. What I would like to do is if I may impose on the four of you, I would like to, when we get the report back—and I want to mention this to the staff here. When we get the report back from AID about a kind of a 5-year projection, I would like to send that to the four of you for your evaluation. And I would like to have an evaluation that I can use publicly, frankly, from the four of you, to see what we can do.

Then, the final thing, and this is a final question to all of you, in some way we have to encourage American colleges and universities to do more in this field.

Dr. Hayward, you are kind of the expert in this, being from the American Council on Education. We clearly, Dr. Morris, ought to be encouraging the historically black colleges and universities to do more. But a lot of schools can do more.

I am on the board of trustees of a small liberal arts college in Nebraska, Dana College in Nebraska. The last time I saw it, we had more students from Nambia than any other college or university in the Nation, because someone has taken an interest in doing something.

One of the things we need to do, as you mentioned, Dr. Robinson, we are talking about global education, and there is also a tendency sometimes to have African studies or look at Africa as one huge kind of glob out there. We are not looking at Liberia, at Botswana or at Mozambique.

One of the things that we need to do, it seems to me, is to establish ties, linkages, or whatever word you want to use, between colleges and universities and specific countries so that you build a constituency here in the United States that has an understanding of a country and then can frankly be a resource for us if there are international difficulties, but also can lobby us. We should not have to wait in Somalia until things get so extreme that the television cameras tell us you have to do something. We ought to be responding much sooner.

Anyway, let me just thank the four of you for your testimony. And let me just ask, do you have any thoughts on this idea of how

we encourage American colleges and universities to do more, Dr. Hayward?

Dr. HAYWARD. Yes, I think that very small amounts of additional resources which are used to encourage linkages in larger numbers, such as those that exist not only through study abroad programs, but cooperative research, graduate study abroad, through expanding Fulbright opportunities, in targeted universities is especially useful. The eagerness for these kinds of links and exchanges in Africa is very, very great. And I think the point you were just making I would just emphasize once more.

And that is that we are very ignorant of Africa. And one of the other outcomes of these linkages and ties and relationships are that American faculty members, American students, their parents, their colleges, and the communities that are involved become aware of Africa in some way other than looking at it through Tarzan-colored glasses. And I think, particularly, when we have been focusing on the famines and the crises, we forget all the exciting and creative things going on in Africa.

I think these kinds of linkages, with very small amounts of money—I mean, I think if you look at title VI, which I know for years you have defended, it provides somewhere between 7 and 13 percent of the cost of teaching less commonly taught languages. And yet, as you and I know, without those funds we would not have the kind of language training we have now, and the funding is appallingly little.

I think the same is true with linkages. A small amount of money, 5–10 percent of the cost, could help a university that would not otherwise be able to set up a study abroad program, or exchange some faculty members. Because in these periods of tough times it is harder to do than it used to be. But I think the dividends that this would pay for the country as a whole are phenomenal. And I think it is particularly important, given the African heritage of this country, that we do much more of this than we do.

Senator SIMON. Dr. Morris.

Dr. MORRIS. Senator Simon, I wanted to mention the small the number of exchange students going to Africa. It really hit home to me because I know, for instance, at our institution, and most HBCU's, about 85 percent of our students are on financial aid. And I recall myself as a student many decades ago, a generation ago, that to go to Africa was virtually impossible, because I had to work in the summer, tied into my financial aid was the expectation that I had to not only not be able to spend money, but I had to be able to bring in.

So I think that there needs to be something like a Pell grant for exchange. And I also say that our private sector has let us down here. I say it publicly. I come from Baltimore. We have institutions. We are talking relatively little amounts of money. We have tried to get some of our major industries there to fund students. One, a couple of times, was to go to Oxford for the summer. Other times we have had indications from African universities, we have had requests from German and Soviet universities for African-American students. But the resources become the critical constraint.

And I know that I have a number of my faculty—as a matter of fact, on Friday, there is a faculty member who was sitting in the

lounge who was trying to find funds to—when he met with African visitors.

There is a tremendous interest, but I do not want to keep saying it is the funds. We have got to figure out a better way to do it, and I think that we need to maybe just take another good look at how internal decisions of USIA and also maybe aid with the—I think with the delegation to some of the field missions, this does not become a priority. These kinds of macro kinds of things are not really very much of a priority if you are out there in the field.

So we need to maybe take another look at our overall priorities once again, with the longer ranging view, instead of the shorter term.

Senator SIMON. I could not agree more. Back in 1984, I introduced a higher education act that included I think it was $20 per full-time equivalent student for each campus for faculty and student exchanges and travel. It would not have been a large amount, but it would have helped. Morgan State would have additional resources. It did not get an overwhelming reception, I have to add. But I think it is still basically a sound idea.

It should not be asking too much of American colleges and universities that we spend as much on exchanges as we do on football, for example.

Mr. Schieren.

Mr. SCHIEREN. Yes. Dean Morris mentioned the question of how you get minority students involved in national education. This is something I think where money really does talk and money does count. In Cairo, I tried to set up a program for Year Abroad students in 1969. We established one, and we had no—the university had almost never had African-American students. We persuaded the Ford Foundation to give us $10,000, and we said we would bring 10 students for that amount of money. We went out and we got HBCU's, we got students in other universities, and we got the university to contribute something.

The grant got renewed twice, and over the course of 6 years, we had 28 students who came to Cairo. When the Ford Foundation cut that program, they said: We just do not believe in doing citizen exchange activities. We want a Ph.D. student. And after that, there were no African-American students there for years, and it was not for lack of recruiting.

At a certain point, for minority students, it comes down to money. And that is separate from other things that one might say about exchange.

I think for suggestions for U.S. colleges, first of all, you want to know what exists. There are programs out there. World Learning has 13 different campuses in Africa, where they are running programs for Year Abroad students. And almost any student from any university in the States can enroll in that. And they are very interesting, because each campus focuses on a different theme. It is not just the country. The campus in Zimbabwe is focusing on NGO's and empowerment. Another one is focusing on the environment. Another one is focusing on wildlife. They have one in Durban-Westville now.

There are great opportunities, but if the information system in the States is not good enough and people do not know about it,

then of course the kids do not know about it. Those programs are not oversubscribed, so I would commend them to you, to anybody in universities who would like to be involved.

Obviously, there are HBCU's that have been involved in a number of programs. I know Central State is involved in a program in Senegal. The HBCU group is working with a program in Namibia, a kind of an exchange program. UCLA is working on a program that is going to work with Asmara, the new university there.

Another thing that is available are programs by the Office of Education to study in the Educators Abroad Programs. They will take people for 6 weeks to Africa. We have been asked to administer one for each of the last 2 years, Educators to Africa, bringing people. This is a very, very valuable thing, and one should ask the Office of Education to have more programs for Africa.

We are running shortly a tour for black foundation executives from U.S. nonprofit foundations who want to learn more about Africa. It will be a 2-week tour to Senegal and Ghana, and we hope at the end of that, those people are going to come back wanting to program private foundation funds to Africa projects and exchanges. But it is a constant effort to keep Africa on the burner.

Senator SIMON. I agree with that.

Dr. Robinson.

Dr. ROBINSON. Yes, a couple of things. Beginning with the study abroad programs, I know about World Learning and a lot of them, I have probably somewhere between six to eight students a year that go to Africa. However, you have to be able to pay your own way.

For the study abroad programs that are our university's programs, students' financial aid is transferable. And we are now trying to get a Tufts study in Africa program so that students who would like to be able to go to Africa instead of some place in Europe on a Tufts program would be able to go, using their financial aid. It occurred to me that it would be very useful if there were some kind of a funding incentive, that schools could get a little bit of money from a Federal source or a foundation source, but if there could be some money to encourage schools to have their own study abroad program so that students who are on financial aid would be able to go to those programs.

Senator SIMON. How many colleges and universities have study abroad programs in Africa?

Dr. HAYWARD. At the last count there were 13 programs in Africa according to the study.

Senator SIMON. Compared to in Europe we probably have what?

Dr. HAYWARD. There are I think 1,200, or something like that.

Senator SIMON. Yes.

Dr. ROBINSON. Yes. So I think that that could make a very big difference. And I would encourage you to look into that.

Another thing I think, we have talked a lot about HBCU's, because of the obvious interest in Africa—in talking about women, I think that one ought to try to encourage women's colleges in the United States to do more with women's education in Africa. So that similar types of mechanisms that are used with the HBCU's, we might be able to pair with some of these women's issues in Africa, women's education.

In terms of the project that I was describing with Canada, strengthening political science departments and the teaching of political science as a discipline, I think could be a useful model for American institutions, if you get people in one department. It could be someplace in the sciences, social sciences, history, humanities, the arts—decide that we want to have a linkage with a department in a university in Africa.

It would be much more focused. It could be something that could develop relationships over the long term. This is the sort of thing that I could see developing in one of these sort of at least 5-year packages, with a lot of spillover.

The African study centers are in fact the places where people learn that Africa is not a country. In the international studies programs people talk as though Africa is a country and not a continent. And so I just want to reiterate again ways in which to strengthen African studies programs in this country with these fellowships and things. I mean I got my Ph.D. with a foreign language scholarship study in HAUSA. The requirement was that each semester I was enrolled in school I had to be enrolled in HAUSA, and that got me a Ph.D. in political science.

So that having fellowship money for doctoral studies that encourage people to study African languages can have a tremendous spread effect.

Senator SIMON. We thank you all very, very much.

Our hearing stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 5:29 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene subject to the call of the Chair.]

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